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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between age, ethnic group, socioeconomic status, and sex, and the development of an awareness of the social and racial significance of language dialects. Eighty children from first and fifth grades served as subjects. The subjects were presented with four tasks: (1) a discrimination task of their ability to hear minimal differences in paired sentences, one having Standard English features, the other Black English features; (2) an identification task as to whether a sentence in Black English or Standard English had been stated properly or improperly from a teacher's point of view; (3) an identification task indicating the race of the speaker of Standard English or Black English; and (4) an identification task that required the subjects to identify a speaker according to social class. An analysis of variance was performed for each task. The results indicated that awareness of the social and racial significance of dialect does increase from first to fifth grade, the differences between black students and white students in the identification of Standard English forms was not significant, and no social or sex differences were found for any of the four tasks. (WR)

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AWARENESS OF BLACK DIALECT BY FIRST- AND FIFTH-GRADERS AS RELATED TO RACE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND SEX

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
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RUTGERS UNIVERSITY
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NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY JANUARY 1974

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

No language is spoken in exactly the same manner by all of its speakers. Sociolinguistic research has identified specific dialect patterns which are correlated with certain variables such as socioeconomic status (SES), geographic region, and ethnic group. Two such forms are Standard English (SE), generally recognized as a dialect of most upper- and middle-class white speakers (and preferred by most academic and business societies), and nonstandard or Black English (BE), a dialect found in the speech of many working-class black speakers.

Background of the Problem

The bulk of sociolinguistic research has focused on determining the linguistic features of particular dialects. Relatively little attention has been paid to attitudinal factors, especially in regard to children. We do not know, for example, how early speakers of Black English realize that their speech patterns are different and that these patterns are stigmatized in the larger society.

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the relationship between age, sex, SES, and ethnic group, and the development of an awareness of the social and ethnic group significance of language dialects. In this study, age and ethnic group were operationalized as grade level and race, respectively. A survey was made of children's ability to discriminate between certain SE and BE features, and of their attitudes toward such features.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were studied in the proposed research:

Task I Hypotheses: Paired-Sentence Discrimination

Task I was viewed as a preliminary screening step. The rationale was that if the child was unable to discriminate between SE and BE features (to recognize them as different), he would be unable to perform above chance level on either Task II or III.

It was hoped that all subjects would be able to perform this task with a high degree of accuracy. Review of the literature, however, suggested that some differences could be expected. Thus, if the students were still young enough to be going through a developmental stage regarding the ability to discriminate, the following differences could be hypothesized.

Hypothesis 1. The ability to recognize SE forms and equivalent BE forms as different will increase with age.

Sociolinguistic development can be viewed in terms of a child's increasing ability to differentiate speech forms as like or different. Thus, we can expect to see a gradual increase in this ability as the child grows older.

Hypothesis 2. The ability to recognize SE forms and equivalent BE forms as different will be related to race with black students having more difficulty in recognizing such forms as different than white students.

Although not all speakers of BE are black and not all blacks speak BE, it is assumed that the black students are more likely to use BE than white students. It is also assumed that, because in BE the endings of words tend to be simplified, and because almost all of the features associated with BE fluctuate with SE in actual use (Wolfram, 1970b), the black children will tend to perform less well on the discrimination task.

Hypothesis 3. The ability to recognize SE and equivalent BE forms as different will be related to social class. Lower-class subjects will have more difficulty in recognizing such forms as different than upper-class students.

Studies of the auditory perception of lower-class children have consistently shown them as scoring below middle-class children.

Hypothesis 4. The ability to recognize SE and equivalent BE forms as different will have no relation to sex.

Task II Hypotheses: Identification of "Correctness" of Speech

Task II was viewed as one of intermediate difficulty between Task I and Tasks III and IV. The rationale was that students will probably learn that SE sentence forms are considered more correct than BE forms before they learn to make specific social and racial stereotypes regarding SE and BE forms. In actual time sequence during testing, this task was given last, after Tasks III and IV, to avoid producing any "set" which might influence performance on Tasks II and III.

The hypotheses based on Task II were as follows:

Hypothesis 5. The tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" will increase with age.

Hypothesis 6. The tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" will be related to race with black students being less likely to identify SE forms as "the right way" and white students being less likely to recognize BE forms as "the wrong way."

This hypothesis was tested in an attempt to verify the findings of Kessler (1970) who demonstrated that awareness of the social significance of language may be correlated with race. Kessler asked subjects to judge whether or not given sentences represented the kind of speech to be expected from a high school speech teacher. In scoring, responses were considered correct if subjects marked "yes" for a SE sentence or "no" for a nonstandard sentence. Kessler found that white students made a higher number of errors in recognition of BE forms and that black students made a higher number in recognition of SE forms. In interpreting the results, Kessler suggested that there may be a tendency by which the informant finds greater difficulty in recognizing as standard or nonstandard those forms which are not always part of his own speech.

Hypothesis 7. The tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" will be related to social class with lower-class subjects being less likely to identify SE forms as "the right way" and upper-class students being less likely to recognize BE forms as "the wrong way."

This hypothesis was another attempt to check

Kessler's (1970) hypothesis that the informant finds it harder to identify forms which are not always a part of his own speech. Labov as well points out that the people who are the most sensitive to the stigma attached to certain forms are those who use them (Labov, 1964, p. 440; 1970c, p. 32).

Hypothesis 8. The tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" will have no relation to sex.

Task III Hypotheses: Identification of Race

The rationale for the Task III hypotheses has already been covered. They are logical extensions of the predicted outcomes of Task I and Task II.

Hypothesis 9. With increasing age, subjects will identify the speaker of SE forms as being white and the speaker of BE forms as being black.

Hypothesis 10. Identification of the speaker of SE as being white and the speaker of BE as being black will be related to race with black students being less likely to recognize the speaker of SE forms as white and white students being less likely to recognize the speaker of BE forms as black.

Hypothesis 11. The tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as white and the speaker of BE forms as black will have no relationship to social class.

Hypothesis 12. The tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as being white and the speaker of BE forms as being black will have no relationship with sex.

Task IV Hypotheses: Identification of Class

As with Task III, the rationale for the Task IV hypotheses has already been covered. In this task, identification of social class is based on a judgment regarding such aspects as clothing and housing style as depicted in two contrasting photographs.

The hypotheses based on Task IV were as follows:

Hypothesis 13. With increasing age, subjects will identify the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as being lower class.

Hypothesis 14. Identification of the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as being lower class will have no relationship with race.

Hypothesis 15. Identification of the speaker as upper class or lower class will be related to social class with lower-class subjects being less likely to identify SE forms as upper class and upper-class subjects being less likely to identify BE forms as lower class.

Hypothesis 16. The tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as upper class and the speaker of BE forms as lower class will have no relationship with sex.

Length of Residence

Hypothesis 17. For the black students, there will be no relationship between length of residence in the north and performance on Tasks I, II, III, and IV.

It was anticipated that there might be a number of black children who had recently moved up from the south.

The Specific Linguistic Features

In addition to the hypotheses listed above, which are concerned with total test scores on all four of the linguistic features tested, a tabulation of the number of errors connected with each of the four linguistic features was made to see whether any specific patterns emerged.

Implications and Limitations

Identification of children's ability to recognize dialect differences and their attitudes regarding these differences has both theoretical and practical applications.

Theoretically, such findings can help to fill an existing gap in sociolinguistic research. On a practical basis, they may help to determine the best timing of any attempts to help children realize that we live in a multi-dialect environment, and the timing of any attempts to help children who speak a nonstandard dialect to develop a dialectal fluency in the standard dialect as well.

Any changes in the direction of a person's learning to use SE is more than likely tied not only to the speaker's awareness of the standard form as different from his own, but also to his attitude regarding the value of using that form. While the present study is limited to determining the age at which sociolinguistic awareness develops, such awareness at the present time tends to have an evaluative connotation. The information secured about the age at which such attitudes are likely to be formed may help to determine the timing of when instruction in helping children to become bi-dialectal may be most effective. Research into the time at which barriers toward learning SE, such as opposing motivations and peer group resistance, are formed would be a necessary next step to undertake.

CHAPTER II

RELATED THEORY AND LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the current theory and research concerning differences between BE and SE and children's ability to recognize such differences.

What is Black English?

One dialect in the United States is BE, a dialect spoken by some black persons, particularly those of the lower socioeconomic classes.

The term dialect applies to a form of language that is spoken in a specific locality or among a particular group of people. A dialect varies in vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, patterns of stress, and intonation from other varieties of the same language (Malestrom, 1969; McDavid, 1966).

Not all Negroes speak BE. There are many blacks whose speech is indistinguishable from white persons of the same region and social class and there are many whose speech can be identified as black only by a few minor differences in pronunciation and vocal quality (Fasold & Wolfram, 1970; Wolfram, 1970b). At the present time the best evidence we have, according to Dillard (1972), is that approximately 80% of the black population in the United States speaks BE.

BE has many similarities to other kinds of English. Its distinctiveness, however, lies in the fact that it has a number of pronunciation and grammatical features which are not shared by other dialects. One possible reason for the distinctiveness of BE is that the history of the dialect is partly independent from the history of the rest of American English (Fasold & Wolfram, 1970; Wolfram, 1970b). Dillard (1972) is one of several linguists who hold the thesis that differences between BE and other English dialects are traceable to normal historical factors, specifically to language contact phenomena associated with the West African slave trade and with European maritime expansion in general. Dillard points out that BE has structural and historical resemblance to languages spoken in the Caribbean, South America, West Africa, and the Pacific.

Another reason for the distinctiveness of BE is that the persistent segregation patterns of American society may have been a sufficient cause for the dialect to develop its own character (Fasold & Wolfram, 1970; Wolfram, 1970b). Dialects develop when speakers of a common language are separated from each other, either by geographical or social distance. The social distance between white and black Americans would be a contributing factor to the maintenance and development of distinct dialect features.

Linguistic Features of Black English

Significant research on BE in the United States is almost entirely a product of the 1960's. Linguists have shown that BE is a fully formed linguistic system in its own right with its own grammar and pronunciation rules (Fasold & Wolfram, 1970; Labov, 1964, 1966, 1969a, 1970a, 1970c; Wolfram, 1970b). Comparison of Labov's research in New York with the Detroit Dialect Study (Shuy, 1968; Wolfram, 1969) and with the Urban Language Study of the District of Columbia (Stewart, 1964b) reveals remarkable likenesses in the dialect spoken by blacks in these widely separated cities.

There are numerous systematic differences between SE and BE. In this chapter, review of specific features will be limited to the four linguistic features which were focused on in this research: presence or absence of the voiced or voiceless sibilants /s,z/ as (1) the copulative, (2) third person singular present tense marker, (3) noun plural marker, and (4) possessive marker.

Copulative. When the is (or are) forms of to be are used in SE, BE may have no phonological representation at all (Fasold & Wolfram, 1970; Labov, 1969a). The absence of these morphemes also is responsible for the elimination of the contracted forms 's (and 're) of is (and are). Thus, we may have sentences in BE such as The window open. in contrast to the SE sentence of The window's open.

Third person singular. In SE the suffix /s/ or /z/ is used to identify the present tense of a verb if the subject of the verb is in the third person singular. Fasold and Wolfram (1970) point out that in a sense the use of this suffix is an irregularity since no suffix is used to mark present tense with other persons of the verb. The paradigm in BE is more regular. The suffix is simply not part of the grammar of the dialect. Thus, we may have He talk a lot. (BE) as contrasted with He talks a lot. (SE).

Labov points out that the /s,z/ ending does appear occasionally in BE, but in unpredictable ways (Labov, 1970b). Not only does it appear after the first and second person pronouns, and after plural pronouns, but is attached to nonfinite verb forms as well. Labov observes that these occurrences are marked by erratic patterns, or rather the absence of patterns, and are probably due to irregular, unsystematic borrowing from the grammar of SE.

Absence of the third person singular present tense suffix is one form which shows a sharp demarcation between social classes. Wolfram (1970a) reports that lower-class groups are sharply differentiated from middle-class groups by the incidence of the /s,z/ suffix.

Noun plural. The /s,z/ suffixes which mark the majority of noun plurals in SE are often absent in the speech of speakers of BE, resulting in sentences such as *I have four penny*. (BE) in place of *I have four pennies*. (SE). Fasold and Wolfram (1970) state that the absence of the noun plural suffix in northern urban BE occurs considerably less often than the absence of the possessive suffix and far less than the absence of the third person singular present tense marker. Most northern speakers of BE, they claim, have the use of the noun plural suffix. For some speakers of southern BE, particularly young children, the noun plural suffix is almost always absent. Labov notes that in the most casual and spontaneous speech of the young black people in New York the noun plural inflection is seldom deleted. However, he hypothesizes that the existence of such words as *desses*, *ghosses*, and *toasses* as plurals of *desk*, *ghost*, and *toast* in the speech of his informants suggests the existence of nonstandard underlying forms (Labov, 1969b).

Possessive. Where the possessive suffix /s/ or /z/ appears in SE, BE lacks the possessive *'s* so that possession is indicated solely by the order of the words

(Fasold & Wolfram, 1970). Thus, the BE phrase The boy hat. corresponds to The boy's hat. in SE.

A comparison of the potential incidence of the third person singular present tense /s,z/ with the possessive marker /s,z/ for 48 Detroit informants revealed that the former structural pattern is over four times as numerous as the latter (Wolfram, 1969). It may, therefore, be understandable why many people are more consciously aware of the absence of /s,z/ on third person forms than they are of the absence of the /s,z/ on possessives.

One reason for looking at particular linguistic features, as the current study attempts to do, is that not all features of BE have the same social connotations. Wolfram (1970a) points out that some features may immediately characterize the socioeconomic class of the speaker; others may correlate with ethnicity but have little or no social significance within the black community. Such factors would suggest that some features of BE should be given precedence over others in the acquisition of SE.

Wolfram suggests several criteria that may be used in determining the relative ordering of lessons in SE (Wolfram, 1970a). Among them are whether there is gradient or sharp stratification in the frequency of occurrence of a variant between social groups (including the subjective reactions to a feature as well as its objective stratification), the generality of the rule governing the variable, whether the feature is a grammatical or a phonological one, whether it has regional or general social significance, and the relative frequency of occurrence of the pattern. Wolfram has set up a matrix of cruciality to indicate how early a particular feature should be introduced in lesson material. His matrix reveals that such features as third person singular marker and possessive marker should be introduced at the earliest stage, use of the copula in the next stage. Wolfram does not even mention the noun plural marker; thus, one can assume that he feels there is little need to introduce this particular feature.

Auditory Discrimination and Black English

One consequence of the grammatical and phonological processes of BE is that speakers of BE have many homonyms; they do not differentiate between certain words that are contrastive in SE. For example, in many cases there is no distinction between /i/ and /e/ before nasals. The diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ are often monophthongized so that they are not distinguished from /ah/. Final consonants are often weakened. As a result of these kinds of processes, one may have such BE homonyms as road = row, feed = feet; seat = seed = see, bit = bid = big, pin = pen, beer = bear, cheer = chair, oil = all (Labov, 1967b).

Much of the literature on the receptive competence of black children with SE involves auditory discrimination tasks. Studies that test auditory discrimination of SE phonology (Melmud, 1970) have shown that word pairs which are homophones in BE but are contrastive in SE are not discriminated as different by BE speakers as often as they are by SE speakers.

Skills of articulation and phonemic discrimination need careful study in which dialect differences are experimentally controlled. Such studies are lacking in the literature. Clark and Richards (1966), using the Wepman Auditory Discrimination Test, found that disadvantaged nursery age children enrolled in Head Start programs were inferior to nondisadvantaged children enrolled in private nursery school classes; however, the Wepman contains many instances of paired words that would be contrastive in SE but homophones in BE. Assumptions of social class differences in auditory discrimination are often based on differential stimulus exposure (Deutsch, 1964, 1968) inasmuch as in the dialects most prevalent in slum areas the endings of words tend to be slurred. Entwistle (1971) points out that the ability to make certain auditory discriminations apparently depends on the kinds of discriminations one is used to making. Thus, she warns, if a student is tested on discriminations outside of his normal dialect, his competence may be unfairly assessed. In her summary of studies of dialect differences, Entwistle concludes that there seems to be little doubt that many American slum children have poor phonemic discrimination because of dialect or second language features. But she maintains that the handicaps of low-status children as listeners are not failures in auditory perception but failures in processing auditory data, and concludes that "pure" auditory perceptual ability probably varies little among groups.

Rystrom (1970) reported that, in an experiment to teach first-grade black children SE, recognition drills were used to confirm the children's ability to discriminate between their native dialect and the dialect being learned, but he gives no data as to how well the children succeeded in this task.

Politzer and Hoover (1972) administered a test of auditory discrimination between SE and BE to 83 black and 71 white second-, fourth-, and sixth-graders (lower to lower-middle class). They found that test scores increased with maturation, that girls performed generally better than boys, and that black students performed better than white students. The results indicated that awareness is more highly developed in black children than in white children; perhaps, said the authors, as a result of training or perhaps as a result of greater exposure to both standard and nonstandard speech. In the Politzer and Hoover study, however, the racial groups were not selected from the same universe.

The above studies suggest differences in auditory discrimination abilities between blacks and whites. The current study, which controls for dialect differences by exposing children to samples of both SE and BE, and which investigates specific syntactic forms, should help to further understanding in this area.

According to Labov (1964), the ability of a student to hear consistently the difference between two language forms may be closely correlated with the social significance of the language forms. In a study of 53 delinquent youths in New York City on their ability to perceive a series of phonological contrasts, Labov found that the ability to perceive distinctions seemed to be determined largely by the social significance of the distinction to the listener. The contention that native speakers can hear phonemic distinctions much better than nonphonemic distinctions was not supported by the evidence.

In tests of auditory discrimination, a number of miscellaneous factors may intervene between the perceptual input and the child's eventual output. Therefore, factors such as lapses of memory, failures of attention, and temporary confusion of categories also need to be taken into account.

Attitudinal Correlates of Black English

A critical question regarding dialect is the difference-deficiency issue--whether the language used by persons in various subcultures is simply different or can be considered deficient by some criteria (Baratz, 1968, 1969b, 1970; Cazden, 1966).

From a linguistic viewpoint, all dialects are equal. Each dialect will serve the needs of the child who speaks it and will allow him to function quite adequately within his environment (Bailey, 1969; Cromack, 1971; Wardhaugh, 1969). There is no conclusive evidence indicating that nonstandard dialects are less adequate vehicles for cognitive processes of communication (Raph & Nicholich, 1971). The difficulty caused by a nonstandard dialect is a function of its divergence from the SE used in schools and its socially stigmatizing qualities rather than from any essential deficiencies in the dialect itself.

From a social viewpoint, some dialects are considered more valuable than others in certain contexts. In the United States, BE is a dialect that is currently unacceptable in academic, business, and other areas of the mainstream of society. The lack of prestige for BE, according to Wardhaugh (1969), derives from geographic, social, and/or political factors rather than from any intrinsic characteristics of the dialect. Thus, the preference of some speakers for one dialect or another is a preference for the non-linguistic correlates of the dialect rather than for the dialect itself.

The stigmatization toward BE may be regarded as a crucial factor in preventing the upward mobility of black Americans. Baratz (1970), however, points out that the negative value placed on BE, and the attempt to encourage use of SE, is a sociolinguistic fact of life, not necessarily an attempt to "keep blacks down." To date, she states, wherever research has been done, one variety of language invariably becomes the standard.

The preference for some dialects and the negative value placed on other dialects results from the formation of attitudes about specific dialects. Such attitudes are based on the development of an awareness of the social and ethnic group significance of dialects, which is the focal point of the current study.

It is fair to assume that the dialect a person uses is an identifying feature which labels him (correctly or incorrectly) as a member of a particular national or cultural group. It is also assumed that a listener's attitude toward members of a group is generalized to the language patterns that the group is commonly identified as using.

The correspondence between BE speech patterns and membership in the black ethnic group is far from complete. Furthermore, a speaker of BE may use SE forms part of the time or he may have a mixture of speech with both BE and SE features in his personal idiolect. According to Fasold and Wolfram (1970), almost all the features associated with BE alternate with SE in actual speech. However, as Labov (1970a) points out, many BE features are identified with black speech by most listeners. The BE stereotype provides correct identification of ethnic group in the great majority of cases and therefore has a firm base in social reality. Someone who uses a stigmatized form 20 to 30% of the time, according to Labov, will be heard as using this form all of the time.

Speech Stereotyping

Authorities in the fields of oral language, sociolinguistics, and compensatory education all find evidence that important judgments are made about a person on the basis of his speech style (Woodworth & Salzer, 1971). Williams (1970) points out that our speech, by offering a rich variety of social and ethnic correlates, each of which has attitudinal correlates in our own and in our listeners' behaviors, is one means by which we remind ourselves and others of social and ethnic boundaries and is thus a part of the process of social maintenance (or change). Eliza Doolittle, in My Fair Lady, is a popular example of the moral that characteristics of speech are salient clues to a person's social status.

A great deal of work on the stereotype hypothesis --that one's evaluational reactions to speech are a stereotyped or generalized version of his attitudes toward the users of that speech--has been done by Wallace Lambert and his colleagues working at McGill University in Canada. Lambert and his associates (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960) have attempted to describe the overall types of subjective reactions which people have to an accent, dialect, or language. Their stereotype hypothesis has been largely borne out in studies where subjects have provided a variety of evaluations (ranging from height, looks, and intelligence to sociability, character, and likeability) based on their hearing of a spoken language sample.

In one instance, for example, Tucker and Lambert (1969) asked subjects (white northern and black and white southern college students) to identify speakers of six different dialect groups (Network standard, white southern standard, northern Negro educated standard, Negro southern educated standard, Howard University, and Black Mississippi adolescent). The results of their analysis showed that the subjects were able to differentiate reliably among the dialect groups and that there emerged a meaningful pattern of dialect preferences, with the Network speakers being rated most favorably in comparison with the other styles.

Other studies show similar findings. Harms (1961) found that adult listeners from different social strata were capable of rating the social status of male adult speakers after hearing short (10 to 15 second) voice recordings. Listeners also rated the high-status speakers as being more "credible" than the low-status speakers.

Stroud (1961, as cited by Hurst & Jones, 1966) studied the relations between social distance and speech differences of white and black high school students in Dayton, Ohio, and concluded that some "undefined quality in the Negro voice" enabled the judges to discriminate between recorded voices of black and white students in 93% of the cases. It is unclear why Stroud labeled the quality "undefined" rather than specifying pronunciation variables.

Buck (1968) asked New York City college students to identify the race of standard white and black speakers and nonstandard white and black speakers of New York City. She found that her subjects could correctly identify the race of all speakers except for the black SE speaker. In rating their impressions on semantic differential scales, the subjects generally judged the standard speakers as more competent than those using nonstandard dialect.

Although the above experiments have helped to demonstrate the importance of attitudinal correlates toward language, they have several limiting features. First, they deal with gross speech samples rather than isolating reactions to any particular features of a language. Because they used a variety of speakers, it is also possible that other factors, such as individual voice characteristics, influenced the results. Finally, they worked primarily with adults and did not deal with the problem of when these attitudes toward dialect differences are formed.

Another major concern is that data in such attitudinal studies may now be seriously out of date in view of the attitudes illustrated in the "black-is-beautiful" campaign. Williams (1970) suggests that this campaign has changed attitudes, both in the black toward himself and in the white's attitudes toward the black, and that therefore we would be likely to find changes in the attitudes toward BE.

Development of Awareness of Dialect

The preschool and early elementary years are generally regarded as a crucial period in the growth and differentiation of the child's feelings about himself and his feelings toward others who are different. The research indicates that children become aware of color or racial differences as early as ages 3 to 4 and that with this awareness is some understanding of the valuations placed on color by the larger society (Clark & Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971). Given the early age at which children show such responses as preferring white dolls, we might expect an early realization of the sociolinguistic facts of life as well. This realization may or may not be on the conscious level. However, children will be affected by the reaction of others, whether or not they are aware of them (Cazden, 1972).

Joos (1964) comments that long before any teacher begins to correct his English, the child has learned all he needs to know, at his age, about people and their places; he has developed considerable skill in judging adults by their speech. However, Joos offers no empirical evidence to support this viewpoint.

Cazden (1972) suggests that from the early beginnings of the language learning process, children must pick their models. These attitudes, she feels, are made up of knowledge (probably unconscious) plus a strong positive or negative valence. This, according to Cazden, is the only explanation for why black children speak the dialect of their parents or peers despite hours of exposure to Network English on television.

These comments raise the possibility that preschool children may be aware of dialect differences, but there have been no studies to date on the awareness of preschool children on either the social class or ethnic meanings of dialect differences.*

The studies that deal with the development of attitudinal correlates of speech in pre-adolescent children are sparse and tend to deal with a small number of subjects of a relatively small age span. Thus, they tend to show the existence of these correlates, but no specific developmental pattern has emerged.

Politzer and Hoover (1972) tested 154 elementary school children in the second, fourth, and sixth grades. The black children and the white children came from different school districts, but according to the authors were primarily lower to lower-middle class. The children were asked to identify sentences as either "school talk" or "every day talk." All sentences were spoken by black bi-dialectal speakers. The authors found that ability to differentiate the sentences increased from grade level to grade level, that the overall pattern showed girls achieving better than boys, and that black children achieved better than white children on all three levels. Although the Politzer and Hoover study has the strength of testing three different age levels, it has the weakness of using racial groups which were not selected from the same universe, nor did it statistically control for social class.

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*The author hypothesizes that given a global sampling of speech (rather than a sample of minimal differences such as in the present study), preschool children would show an ethnic awareness but not a social class awareness and is pursuing this question on the post-doctoral level.

Baratz (1969a) asked third- and fifth-graders to listen to two stimuli, one in SE and the other in BE. After each of these stimuli, the subjects were asked to identify the speaker from among a group of pictures containing black, white, and oriental men, women, boys, and girls.

Of the third-graders, Baratz reports, 73.3% identified the standard stimuli as being spoken by a white man and 73.3% identified the nonstandard stimuli as being spoken by a black man. Of the fifth-graders, 83.3% judged the standard sentence as being spoken by a white man while 93.3% judged the nonstandard sentence as being spoken by a black. The standard sentences were identified by 80% of the white children as being spoken by a white man whereas 76.6% of the black children identified them as being spoken by a white man. Nonstandard sentences were judged to be spoken by a black 83.3% of the time by children of both races. In actuality, both samples had been recorded by a white bi-dialectal male speaker.

Bouchard (1969) asked 18 fifth- and sixth-grade middle-class students to listen to a tape recording of speakers of three dialects. She found that they ranked middle-class white speakers, lower-class white speakers, and lower-class black speakers in descending order on personality characteristics on the basis of voice cues alone. In addition, the children were asked to determine the race and occupation of the speakers. Bouchard concluded that children of 10 and 11 years of age are indeed aware of the social significance of language differences.

Kessler (1970) studied 67 seventh- and eighth-grade students in a small private school for girls in Washington, D.C. She found the students had no difficulty in hearing grammatical differences between SE and Negro nonstandard English and made very few errors in recognizing forms as prestigeful or not.

In his study on the social stratification of English in New York City, Labov (1966) examined the role of attitudes in explaining the social stratification of five phonological features among adults and children on the Lower East Side. Among his subjects were 58 children ranging from 8 to 19 years of age. These children showed a gradual development of conformity to the adult norms.

According to Labov (1970b), the adult community shows almost complete agreement in response to subjective reaction tests regarding the value systems of particular language features. Children, however, he says, are quite sketchy in their perception of these value systems. Children certainly know that there is a great difference between school language and home language, teacher language and their own language, but they know surprisingly little of the social significance of these differences. From his data, Labov hypothesized that the social perceptions of speech stratification in these children started to match the adult norms at around the age of 14 or 15 (Labov, 1964). The number of young subjects was limited so that Labov admits that his findings must be regarded as tentative.

Labov (1964) has constructed a six-stage theoretical model of the acquisition of the full range of spoken English. The first stage deals with the mastery of the basic grammar and lexicon, the second with the use of the vernacular common to the immediate peer group. The third stage begins with early adolescence and is the stage during which the child becomes aware of the social significance of dialect characteristics. During the next three stages, the child gradually learns how to modify his speech, using SE first only upon occasion, then gradually developing the ability to maintain use of SE consistently, and being able to use the full range of styles appropriate for a wide range of occasions.

Although awareness of fine social stratification does not develop until early adolescence, Labov adds that children do learn early that there are careful and casual styles of speech. However, the wider social significance of dialect differences appears to be hidden from them.

Other than Labov's study, there has been little experimental work done to determine precisely the ability of young children to perceive social differences in dialect characteristics. We do not know whether such awareness begins in early adolescence or whether it may occur at a much earlier age.

Awareness of Social Class and Race

According to Proshansky and Newton (1968), there are two basic processes involved in the development of racial identity: racial conception, or the ability to make racial distinctions, and racial evaluation, or how and when the child evaluates his own racial group membership. These processes are intimately tied to each other.

Young black children tend to assign negative roles to children of their own race (Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). Goodman (1952) observed that in an integrated kindergarten black children at the dawn of racial awareness often react with overactivity and special vigor. Studies by Goff (1949), Horowitz (1939), Landreth and Johnson (1953), and others have confirmed the hypothesis of self-hate among black children. Writers such as Pettigrew (1964), Schultz (1969), and Silberman (1964) claim that self-derogation among black children persists as a lifelong characteristic.

In a clinical-type study of the attitudes of southern children attending desegregated schools during the initial desegregation process, Coles (1964) found that young six-year-old black children drew white people larger and more lifelike, strong and able-bodied, whereas blacks were portrayed as undersized, their bodies less intact, often stunted, and with missing features. The children used brown and black colors with great restraint.

Young children of both races soon learn to assign, realistically, poorer houses and less desirable roles to black dolls. Radke and Trager (1950) tested 242 children from kindergarten to second grade and found that the great majority of children in both races gave the poor house to the black doll and the good house to the white doll. The authors theorize that part of the children's concepts of race included the factors of occupations, clothing, and housing.

Coles' (1964) analysis of black children's drawings found that blacks' homes were drawn in a hasty manner, often not quite fitting together so that they seemed irregular and exposed. There was no grass or trees on the street where blacks lived. The sun was noticeably shining on the street where whites lived, with buildings far bigger and sturdier than those on the "other" side.

Black children are very sensitive to the degree of skin coloring as well. Sciarca (1971) found that black boys ascribed high-status occupations to black men with light coloring and low-status occupations to black men with dark coloring.

Many of the studies cited indicated that black children regularly and realistically assign members of their race to lower social roles, inferior clothing, and housing. But there are very few studies dealing solely with the awareness of social class per se as apart from race.

Neugarten (1946) found that friendship, status, and reputation of school children in fifth grade and above in a mid-western community paralleled social class position. The author took the view that a young child may not be conscious of the class structure of the community itself but selects friends on a whole configuration of factors, such as clean clothes, playthings, language, manner, where they live, and so forth. The child, he claims, is probably reflecting the class stereotypes as he has learned them from his parents and applies these criteria uncritically.

Estvan (1962) found children in the middle grades were aware of the socioeconomic gradients in their community and employed habitual stereotypes in describing the status of their peers. Estvan also demonstrated that children of lower and higher community standings viewed poverty aspects from a different emotional consciousness (Estvan, 1952).

Researchers have uncovered empirical evidence of widespread aggression, bitterness, and anti-white attitudes among black Americans (Johnson, 1957). Studying 400 grade-school children in Virginia, Hammer (1953) employed a projective test which required the subject to draw a house, a tree, and a person. The black children in the sample revealed significantly more aggression in their drawings than did the higher-status white children with whom they were compared.

Pettigrew (1964), however, points out that blacks of different social status typically vary in their handling of hostility. He claims that moving toward the oppressor is more common among upper-status blacks whereas moving against is more favored by lower-status blacks.

Middle-class persons increasingly predominate among those blacks who most strongly show a desire to move toward and gain acceptance in the total society. Pettigrew (1964) points out that personality research on middle-class blacks and whites repeatedly finds far more similarities than differences. Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) comment that many characteristic facets of the black's value system and behavior patterns are falsely attributed to his racial membership, whereas they really reflect his predominant membership in the lower social class. Bloom, Whiteman, and Deutsch (1965) maintain that social class may be a more potent variable than race in predicting environmental and attitudinal factors.

Summary

A review of the research has discussed current theory regarding the dialect known as BE, described some of its linguistic features, considered attitudinal correlates towards the dialect, and the development of awareness of the racial and social significance of dialect features. Although there is some indication that children younger than adolescence are knowledgeable regarding the meaning of dialect differences, there are no studies which have specifically examined the age level at which children become aware of standard forms of speech as opposed to nonstandard forms, nor are there any studies which have integrated in one investigation those variables which seem to bear on awareness of dialect. There is a need to determine more precisely the interactions between age, ethnic group, SES, and the development of attitudes toward SE and BE.

CHAPTER III

RATIONALE, DESIGN, AND PROCEDURES

Rationale

In planning the study, considerable attention was given to the question of which age levels to include. There was reason to believe that awareness of speech differences occur even in preschool children (Cazden, 1972; Joos, 1964). In addition, because the study hoped to shed light on Labov's stages (1964), there was concern that perhaps adolescent children in junior high school should be tested. Finally, there was concern that the scope of the study should not become so large as to be unmanageable.

The final decision was that the study should be limited to grades 1 and 5, using the rationale that at grade 1 children are primarily pre-operational and just beginning to be in a school environment which emphasizes the need for SE usage, whereas at grade 5 they are primarily in the concrete operations stage and emerging upon adolescence, meeting the lower level of Labov's sample.

This rationale is based on the thinking of Piaget (1950, 1951, 1952, 1957) who has developed a model of the processes involved in the acquisition of knowledge and the development of logical intelligence from birth through the adolescent period. By describing the changes in thinking processes that occur in age-related stages, Piaget has enabled researchers to predict the thought processes of children within a particular age range. The pre-operational stage (4 to 7 years) is a period when the child makes a judgment about things on the basis of perception. He lacks the ability to carry on the mental operation of reversibility--reversing a process mentally to compare what is now with what was. During the stage of concrete operations (7 to 11 years), the child can transform mentally the data available to him in a very concrete manner, but is not yet able to think about problems in a formal, abstract way. Thus, we might expect differences in the thinking of the two age levels finally selected.

It was advisable to design the study to control for independence between race and SES factors because both variables are important correlates of children's performance across a variety of measures (Whiteman, Brown, & Deutsch, 1967). Finally, because subjects of both sexes were used, it was advisable to control for sex differences.

Because not all black persons speak BE, the question arose as to whether there was a need to control for the dialect used by the black subjects. The present study, however, was concerned not with the expressive aspects but with the receptive aspects of dialect. The actual relationship of the expressive with the receptive might be an area for further investigation, but it was felt to be beyond the scope of the present study.

Since there are some psychologists (Herrnstein, 1971; Jensen, 1969) who have concluded that IQ scores show diverse patterns of mental abilities between ethnic groups, the question of whether there was a need to control for IQ was another that arose in the planning of the study. Several factors led to the conclusion that such control would be unwise.

In the first place, most IQ tests have built into them some intrinsic assumptions that make them of little use in comparing the intelligence of ethnic and social groups (Garcia, 1972). Specifically, these tests have been standardized on groups consisting of children of white, English-speaking parents. What IQ tests measure, to a significant extent, is the individual's exposure to middle-class Anglo culture (Mercer, 1972). By the very nature of these tests, one would expect that typical groups, chosen at random on the basis of class and race, would have differing mean scores. To try to equate the factor of IQ would result in the final groups being atypical from the original populations.

Second, what IQ tests measure to a significant extent is one's ability to obtain good grades in school rather than one's ability to succeed eventually in life (McClelland, 1973). Such a "scholastic performance" trait relies heavily on linguistic factors, not only one's general verbal ability but even more specifically the ability to communicate in SE (the dialect regarded as correct in the academic mainstream of society and in which the IQ tests are administered). Such linguistic factors are similar to those being sampled in the present study. Their presence or absence would enhance or depress performance on an IQ test. Thus, controlling for IQ would have resulted in a masking of the actual differences that exist among ethnic and social groups in these linguistic factors being tested.

The decision to not control for IQ score in this study is not meant to suggest that IQ scores are not in some instances useful. IQ scores do have predictive validity in our society. A point to keep in mind, however, is that the degree of modifiability of a characteristic cannot be judged by identifying whether its source is hereditary or environmental (Anastasi, 1973). To ignore a test score because it reflects cultural or racial deficits merely retards efforts to overcome such deficits and to relieve cultural and racial conditions. The Stanford Binet, for example, was designed to disregard items that strongly favored males over females and vice versa, thus equalizing the norm IQ scores of males and females who take the test. But sex differences do exist. On the Graduate Record Examinations, men do better on the "quantitative" subtest and women on the "verbal aptitude" subtest (Garcia, 1972). In a similar manner, tests could be designed to equalize performance of other ethnic and social groups. But such tests would have little predictive validity and social utility until equal opportunities for minorities are a social reality.

Design

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between age (grade level), ethnic group (race), SES, and sex, and the development of awareness of dialectical differences.

A total of 80 children from first and fifth grades were given four tasks to determine their ability to discriminate between certain SE and BE features and their attitudes toward such features.

The basic design was a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 factorial analysis, with the independent variables being age (grade level), ethnic group (race), SES, and sex, and the dependent variables being the subscores and total scores on four tasks dealing with discrimination and identification of BE and SE sentences.

The Independent Variables

The following four factors were considered to be independent variables in this study:

Variable		Levels	Number of levels
Grade	(G)	1, 5	2
Ethnic group	(R)	black, white	2
SES	(S)	lower, middle	2
Sex	(X)	male, female	2

Each of the subjects was assigned to a block which contained subjects who were homogeneous with respect to these four characteristics, according to information obtained from the schools' permanent record folder. The resulting blocks formed a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 factorial experiment, with a total of 16 cells.

Allowing for a minimum of five observations for each cell, a total of 80 subjects was tested. These subjects were randomly drawn from the total population in the schools which fitted the necessary criteria.

The Dependent Variables

The dependent variables consisted of four tasks:

Task I--Discrimination--yielded the following measures.

Variable	Range of possible scores
1. Copulative verb	0-4
2. Third person singular	0-4
3. Noun plural marker	0-4
4. Possessive marker	0-4
5. Total	0-16

Task II--Identification of Right Versus Wrong--yielded the following measures.

Variable		Range of possible scores
1a. Copulative verb	SE	0-3
1b. Copulative verb	BE	0-3
2a. Third person singular	SE	0-3
2b. Third person singular	BE	0-3
3a. Noun plural marker	SE	0-3
3b. Noun plural marker	BE	0-3
4a. Possessive marker	SE	0-3
4b. Possessive marker	BE	0-3
5a. Total	SE	0-12
5b. Total	BE	0-12

Task III--Identification of Race--yielded the following measures:

Variable		Range of possible scores
1a. Copulative verb	SE	0-3
1b. Copulative verb	BE	0-3
2a. Third person singular	SE	0-3
2b. Third person singular	BE	0-3
3a. Noun plural marker	SE	0-3
3b. Noun plural marker	BE	0-3
4a. Possessive marker	SE	0-3
4b. Possessive marker	BE	0-3
5a. Total	SE	0-12
5b. Total	BE	0-12

Task IV--Identification of Class--yielded the following measures:

Variable		Range of possible scores
1a. Copulative verb	SE	0-3
1b. Copulative verb	BE	0-3
2a. Third person singular	SE	0-3
2b. Third person singular	BE	0-3
3a. Noun plural marker	SE	0-3
3b. Noun plural marker	BE	0-3
4a. Possessive marker	SE	0-3

Variable		Range of possible scores
4b. Possessive marker	BE	0-3
5a. Total	SE	0-12
5b. Total	BE	0-12

Table 1 shows a schematic representation of the experimental design for Task I. In a similar fashion, other tables could be drawn for Tasks II, III, and IV.

Length of residence was originally considered a relevant variable, since it was anticipated that there might be a number of black children who had recently moved up from the south. However, in the final sample, only three black subjects were found to have lived in the south, so that it was not possible to determine whether there was any significant difference in the scores for black students who had been raised in the north versus black students who had been raised in the south. (This variable was not considered for white subjects.)

Procedures

Population and Sample

Subjects for the study were 40 first-grade and 40 fifth-grade students in the Somerset area of the Franklin Township Public Schools.

The Franklin Township school system was chosen because the school population is racially integrated with

TABLE 1

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF TASK I

		Independent Variables															
		G_1								G_2							
		X_1				X_2				X_1				X_2			
		R_1		R_2		R_1		R_2		R_1		R_2		R_1		R_2	
		S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2
Dependent Variables	1																
	2																
	3																
	4																
	T																

33% black students. In addition, the population represents a fair degree of economic homogeneity so that it was possible to find members of both the lower class and the middle class represented in both races.

Franklin Township is located in the southeastern corner of Somerset County, New Jersey, approximately 35 miles from New York City. The township, shaped generally like a map of South America, extends from the outskirts of Princeton northeastward to the western boundary of New Brunswick. The northern boundary is formed by the Raritan River, the Millstone River marks the western boundary, and Route 27 separates the township on the south from neighboring districts.

Most of the township can be characterized as rural with many small villages. The area adjacent to New Brunswick, known as Somerset, is the most urbanized and has a number of single-dwelling housing tracts as well as some apartment complexes.

Children in the Somerset area attend one of three schools (Macafee, Conerly, and Pine Grove Manor) for kindergarten through grade 4. For fifth and sixth grade they attend Hillcrest School, whose district is comprised of the same area as the three lower schools. Subjects for the study were drawn from the first-grade populations of Macafee, Conerly, and Pine Grove Manor schools and from the fifth-grade population at Hillcrest School.

In order to select the subjects, information was first gathered on every first- and fifth-grader in the participating schools by use of the school permanent record folder for each child. Birthdate, age, race, and type of employment of the father and the mother were noted. In addition, any other information which would result in exclusion from the sample was noted, such as being of a different racial group than white or black, use of a foreign language in the home other than English, a hearing defect, or retention of grade (which would result in being "above" typical age level).

The characteristics of the school population used are found in Table A1 of Appendix A.

There were a total of 369 first-graders and 360 fifth-graders enrolled in the schools. A total of 35 first-graders and 52 fifth-graders were excluded from the sample for factors such as are listed above. This left a total of 324 first-graders (207 white, 127 black) and 308 fifth-graders (207 white, 101 black).

Determination of SES level. The information obtained about occupational status of parents was used to determine the subjects' SES level. Using the socioeconomic index devised by Otis Dudley Duncan (Reiss, 1961), each occupation received a scale rating from 1 to 100.

In instances where both parents were employed, the highest scale rating of either parent was used to determine the SES level.

Use of a single criterion for SES had the obvious advantage of expediency. It can be justified due to the fact that educational status and income level (two factors which are commonly used as measures of SES) are known to be correlated highly with the prestige ranking of an occupation (Reiss, 1961). Both can be seen as aspects of occupational status, as education is a basis for entry into many occupations and, for most people, income is derived from occupation.

On the other hand, the correlation between the socioeconomic index and the variables of income and occupation at the individual level is not very high, nor can such an index predict prestige standings of individuals in their local communities or other group contexts (Reiss, 1961).

Since the present study was concerned with only making two gross stratifications of SES, and did not require maximum refinement, the socioeconomic index was seen as an adequate tool for this purpose.

The classification of students into SES categories revealed that there was a disproportionately large number of black students at the lower end of the scale and a disproportionately large number of white students at the upper end of the scale. In order to create more homogeneous categories, subjects receiving a SES rating of 0 to 10 (6 white, 16 black) and 71 to 100 (165 white, 11 black) were excluded from the study.

An index value of 38.5 was chosen to distinguish between SES lower and SES upper because it has been found to be a cutting point that minimizes the proportion of workers misclassified into white-collar versus manual jobs (Reiss, 1961); however, in order to insure further that there would be less possibility of misclassification, subjects receiving a SES rating of 31 to 38 were excluded from the study (15 white, 12 black). It was not possible to obtain a SES classification for 10 white students and 30 black students because of factors such as insufficient information on the permanent record folder, living with a guardian, deceased, retired, or unemployed parents.

The final population from which a random sample was taken, therefore, consisted of subjects who had a SES rating of from 11 to 30 or 39 to 70. The distribution of such subjects is shown in Table 2.

Randomization. The potential candidates for each cell were numbered arbitrarily from 1 to *n*. The specific subjects for the study were then selected by use of a table of random numbers (Rand Corporation, 1955). Up to

TABLE 2

FINAL FRANKLIN TOWNSHIP SCHOOL POPULATION FROM WHICH RANDOM SAMPLE WAS TAKEN

Race	SES level	Grade 1 Male	Grade 1 Female	Grade 5 Male	Grade 5 Female
		(N)	(N)	(N)	(N)
White	11-30	19	8	15	9
	39-70	41	44	43	39
Black	11-30	23	26	25	24
	39-70	22	17	13	9

10 subjects were drawn for each cell, retaining numbers of priority, in order to allow for contingencies which might prevent testing a particular subject, such as refusal of permission by parent or absence from school. In actuality, only one parent refused permission, and three subjects were ill at the time of testing so that four substitutions were made by taking the next subject for that cell.

The subjects were also randomly assigned to one of two examiners, using the same table of random numbers.

Detailed characteristics about the final 80 subjects are given in Table A2 of Appendix A. The SES levels of these final subjects were found to be comparable between racial groups with $\overline{X}$ ratings of 54.95 and 20.15 for the black students and 54.35 and 19.15 for the white subjects.

Data and Instrumentation

In gathering the data, four tests were used.

The following features of BE were isolated for testing:

1. Use of copulative verb, i.e., "He's going." versus "He going."

2. Use of third person singular present tense marker, i.e., "He goes to our school." versus "He go to our school."

3. Use of noun plural marker, i.e., "Five cent." versus "Five cents."

4. Use of possessive marker, i.e., "John's cousin." versus "John cousin."

In SE these features are all characterized by the presence of the voiced or voiceless sibilants /s,z/. In BE, due to final consonant simplification, and in some cases different transformational rules, the /s,z/ sibilants are not present.

The tests. The tests used consisted of four tasks.

Task I, Discrimination, was a simple discrimination test in which subjects were asked to determine if paired sentences are the same or different. The purpose of this test was to determine if subjects could actually hear differences in paired sentences.

Four different combinations of each feature studied were possible:

(a) Identical sentences; both BE.

(b) Identical sentences; both SE.

(c) Different sentences; first SE, second BE.

(d) Different sentences; first BE, second SE.

For each of the four features, four different sentences were used. Each sentence was assigned to one of the four different combinations, making a total of 16 test items. The items were presented in random order. The randomization for all four tasks was achieved by use of a table of random numbers (Rand Corporation, 1955). The subjects were asked to respond _yes_ or _no_ as to whether the sentence pairs were alike or different.

Task II, _Right-Wrong_, consisted of a task that asked subjects to tell whether a sentence had been said "the right way" or "the wrong way" from a teacher's point of view.

Each of the four sentence features listed previously were given again in Task II. They were given in the BE form and in the SE form. Three sentences were used for each feature making a total of 24 items. The items were presented in a random order.

Task III, _Identification of Race_, consisted of a task that asked students to identify the speaker of a sentence from among a group of two pictures. The pictures represented:

1. White male, in working-class clothes.
2. Black male, in working-class clothes.

Each of the four sentence features listed previously were given again in Task III. They were given in the BE form and in the SE form. Three sentences were used for each feature, making a total of 24 items. The items were presented in a random order.

Task IV, Identification of Class, consisted of a task that asked students to identify the speaker of a sentence from a group of two pictures. The pictures represented:

1. Black male, in business suit in front of large house representative of upper-middle SES district.

2. Black male, in working-class clothes in front of small house representative of a lower SES district.

Each of the four sentence features listed previously were given again in Task IV, in both BE form and in SE form. Three sentences, presented in a random order, were used for each feature, making a total of 24 items.

The tasks were administered in the following order: Task I, III, IV, and II. The reason for this order was that it was felt that the "right-wrong" implication in Task II might prematurely give subjects a response set, so that this task should come at the end.

The sentences were pretaped by a bi-dialectal male speaker. They were presented individually to the first-grade subjects and in a small group situation (five at a time) to the fifth-grade subjects.

The directions for each task were given orally by the examiners (both white females) who followed a detailed script. The directions for both grade levels were similar with the exception of adjustments for the mode of answering.

The first-graders were instructed to answer orally whereas the fifth-graders were instructed to use an IBM answer sheet. In addition, the first-graders were given a preliminary concrete task dealing with same and different to insure that they understood these concepts.

A list of sentences included in the tasks can be found in Table 3. A complete tape script of the four tasks is presented in Appendix B. The oral directions which were given to the subjects are in Appendix C.

The tape. The sentences were pretaped on a Scotch brand magnetic tape heavy duty tenzar (cat. no. 175-1/4-1200) at 7-1/2 rps using the facilities of the Rutgers radio station. The speaker was a black male, 28 years old, who is a native of Itta Bena, Mississippi, in the Mississippi Delta area. He remained in Itta Bena until the end of his undergraduate college training which took place at Mississippi Valley State College in Itta Bena, then he taught for six years in a community college system in Meridian, Mississippi, during which time he obtained an M.A. in English at Mississippi State University, State College, Mississippi. Two years ago, in June 1971, he came north to the New Brunswick, New Jersey, area. He received an Ed.D. in English Education with emphasis on sociolinguistics from the Rutgers Graduate School of Education in June 1973.

The sentences had been designed to focus on

TABLE 3

LIST OF SENTENCES USED IN THE TASKS

Standard English	Black English
Copulative:	
He's crazy.	He crazy.
The girl's tired.	The girl tired.
He's my father.	He my father.
She's going to school.	She going to school.
She's a big girl.	She a big girl.
The window's open.	The window open.
Third person singular:	
She knows you.	She know you.
He goes to our school	He go to our school.
He wants to be a pilot.	He want to be a pilot.
He talks a lot in school.	He talk a lot in school.
Every night he looks at TV.	Every night he look at TV.
She walks to school by herself.	She walk to school by herself.
Plural:	
Two boys go to school	Two boy go to school.
He took seven girls home.	He took seven girl home.
They cost four dollars each.	They cost four dollar each.
Six crayons fell on the floor.	Six crayon fell on the floor.
I lost five books last week.	I lost five book last week.
I found three pennies yesterday.	I found three penny yesterday.
Possessive:	
You know Mary's daddy?	You know Mary daddy?
I took John's book.	I took John book.
She made Bobby's coat.	She made Bobby coat.
She wore Mary's dress.	She wore Mary dress.
I like Louis's bicycle.	I like Louis bicycle.
He hit Jessie's car.	He hit Jessie car.

syntactic differences (the presence or absence of the voiced or voiceless sibilants /s,z/ in the copulative, third person singular, plural marker, and possessive marker) between SE and BE. Other phonological differences which might typically exist between the two dialects were at a minimum. A phonemic transcription of several sentence pairs is given in Table 4 to facilitate a comparison. The notation used is the American system presented in Hockett (1958, ch. 3).

Ideally one would have liked the tape produced by a black who could switch codes so that the phonology for the BE would be consistent with its syntax and the phonology for the SE consistent with its syntax. In this particular instance, however, the speaker who was used could not truly be described as bi-dialectal. His speech, when using SE syntax, still contained many phonetic characteristics of southern speech and BE, and when using BE syntax still contained many SE features.

The main difference between his pronunciation and that of typical speakers of SE in the New Jersey area was in the phonetic quality of the vowels, which even in his production of SE often had the characteristics of BE or southern speech. Furthermore, there was no /ɛ/-/ɪ/ distinction so that the words *pen* and *pin* are homonyms in his speech as is characteristic of BE, southern, and other

TABLE 4

PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION OF SEVERAL SENTENCE PAIRS

Standard English	Black English
Six crayons fell on the floor. /sɪks krejɑnz fel ɔn ðə flor/	Six crayon fell on the floor. /sɪks krejɑn fel ɔn ðə flor/
They cost four dollars each. /ðej kɔst for dɑlerz ič/	They cost four dollar each. /ðej kɔst for dɑler ič/
He talks a lot in school. /hi tɔks əlɑt ɪn skul/	He talk a lot in school. /hi tɔk əlɑt ɪn skul/
She wore Mary's dress. /ši wɔr merɪz drɛs/	She wore Mary dress. /ši wɔr merɪ drɛs/
He's my father. /hiz maɪ faðer/	He my father. /hi maɪ faðer/
She's going to school. /šiz goɪŋ tu skul/	She going to school. /ši goɪŋ tu skul/
She made Bobby's coat. /ši mejd bɑbiz kot/	She made Bobby coat. /ši mejd bɑbi kot/
He wants to be a pilot. /hi wants tə bi ej paɪlət/	He want to be a pilot. /hi want tə bi ej paɪlət/

regional dialects. His pronunciation of the word *penny* is /pɪni/; similarly, in *pennies* it is /pɪniz/. The /aɪ/ diphthong, as in the first person pronoun *I* and in the word *tired*, often had a fronted tendency and was monophthongized. Thus, the word *tired* was /tard/ and *I* was occasionally /ɑ/.

The intonation patterns of some sentences tended to be in a characteristically southern stress pattern. For example, in the following sentences, he said:

3 2 2 3 2 2
"She know you." and "She knows you."

rather than:

2 3 1
"She knows you."

which would be more characteristic of SE.

In addition, he placed a primary stress on the first element of the word *TV* (tee-vee), saying it as /tívi/, in both BE and SE versions. This is analogous to southern pronunciation of *pólice*, *hótel*, and *Júly*.

On the other hand, there was no weakening of final consonants nor simplification of consonant clusters which often appears in BE. *Six* was pronounced /siks/, *going* as /goiŋ/, *cost* as /kɔst/. Nor was there any evidence of "r-lessness" (absence of *r* when it follows a vowel). The word *dollar* was pronounced /dɑler/. These patterns occurred in both the BE and the SE renditions.

One might summarize the speaker's speech pattern as having some features which are characteristic of SE and some features which are characteristic of BE. In general, these features remained stable throughout the equivalent sentences so that phonological differences between the equivalent sentences were at a minimum. Each sentence tended to have a mixture of both BE and SE phonological features.

The recorded speech was of a formal quality rather than an informal one. While it might have been more desirable to have had samples of informal speech, the artificiality and self-consciousness of the taping situation and the need to attend carefully to timing precluded the ability to speak in a spontaneous and informal nature. This formality of speech, however, was present to the same degree in both the SE and BE sentences.

The pictures. The original plan had been to obtain pictures from the local media. However, available pictures were unsatisfactory. In addition, there was a concern that the subjects might be influenced by such extraneous factors as skin shade of black subjects (Sciara, 1971). It was decided that by having only two individuals pose (one black, one white), differences in facial characteristics, skin shade, and other personal features would be eliminated, forcing the subjects to concentrate on the race and class setting. Two individuals (one black, one white) posed for the pictures, which were taken by a professional photographer. A total of 20 proofs were obtained. These proofs were used in the pilot study where questioning of subjects confirmed their suitability and helped to determine the four pictures which were included in the final study. These four pictures can be found in Appendix D.

The pilot study. In order to determine that the tests were adequate and that the subjects to be tested were of an age so that developmental characteristics would emerge in the final results, a pilot study was given to a total of 10 children ranging from first to fifth grade. On the basis of that pilot study, the final tasks, the test directions, and the tape script were refined.

The data collection. The subjects were tested between May 29 and June 8, 1973. They were tested during the regular class day in their own school in a vacant room. In Conerly and Macafee schools these were small rooms that were normally used by the reading and speech specialist teachers. In Pine Grove Manor, a vacant kindergarten room was used. In Hillside, a schedule was arranged so that various classrooms could be used during periods when the normal occupants were having physical education class elsewhere. Although the acoustical arrangements were not ideal, in every case care was taken to be sure the room to be used was distant from normally noisy areas such as the lunchroom or gymnasium. In addition, the examiners were careful to note any possible inadvertent distraction that might result in lack of attention and, when necessary, stopped the tape so that as nearly an optimal attention level as was probably possible was maintained for each subject for each test item. A Wollensak reel-to-reel recorder was used to play the tape.

Treatment of the Data

The subjects' answers (and their classification as to cells) were marked on an IBM answer sheet (#503). The fifth-grade subjects recorded their answers directly on the IBM answer sheet, whereas the answers for the first-grade subjects were recorded by the test examiners. Classification categories were later added to the test answer sheet by the examiner. The answer sheets were then fed into an IBM 1230 Optical Mark Scoring Reader which was connected to an IBM 534 Card Punch. The two machines read each answer sheet and converted the classification code and the test answers onto punch cards. These punch cards, in turn, were converted to two-digit numerics using a Spitbol computer program.

The total data were then analyzed by using the

Biomedical Computer Program BMDX64 General Linear Hypothesis which performed an analysis of variance. The program gave tests of significance (Snedecor *F* Test) for the various treatment means and their interactions on each of the task totals and their subscore factors.

The level of significance of $< .05$ was used.

Table 5 shows the detailed analysis of variance design.

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE DESIGN FOR EACH OF THE FOUR TASKS

Source of variation	SS	df	F
Grade G	SS_g	1	
Sex X	SS_x	1	
Race R	SS_r	1	
SES S	SS_s	1	
G, R	$SS_{g,\ r}$	1	
G, X	$SS_{g,\ x}$	1	
G, S	$SS_{g,\ s}$	1	
R, X	$SS_{r,\ x}$	1	
R, S	$SS_{r,\ s}$	1	
X, S	$SS_{x,\ s}$	1	
G, R, X	$SS_{g,\ r,\ x}$	1	
G, R, S	$SS_{g,\ r,\ s}$	1	
R, X, S	$SS_{r,\ x,\ s}$	1	
G, X, S	$SS_{g,\ x,\ s}$	1	
G, R, X, S	$SS_{g,\ r,\ x,\ s}$	1	
Error	SS_{error}	N - 16 - 1	
Total	SS_{total}	N - 1	

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

To test the major hypotheses, analyses of variance were performed for each of the four tasks. Because Tasks II, III, and IV had hypotheses which dealt separately with SE and with BE, separate analyses of variance were carried out for each of the SE and BE portions of the tasks. The raw data answers for each subtest are found in Appendix E.

Task I Hypotheses

The mean and standard deviation scores for each treatment category in Task I, Paired Sentence Discrimination, is shown in Table 6. Table 7 gives the analysis of variance for Task I.

Hypothesis 1--the ability to recognize SE forms and equivalent BE forms as different would increase with age--was accepted as significant. First-graders had a mean score of 11.85 correct responses (out of a total possible correct score of 16) whereas fifth-graders had a mean score correct of 13.93. The resulting *F* = 22.26 is significant well beyond the .01 level.

Hypothesis 2--the ability to recognize SE forms and equivalent BE forms as different would be related to

TABLE 6

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION: TASK I

Category	Grade 1			Grade 5			Both grades		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Black	20	11.35	2.56	20	13.25	1.89	40	12.30	2.42
White	20	12.35	1.93	20	14.60	0.82	40	13.48	1.85
Male	20	11.75	2.47	20	14.05	1.67	40	12.90	2.38
Female	20	11.95	2.16	20	13.80	1.54	40	12.88	2.08
Lower	20	11.75	2.49	20	13.85	1.67	40	12.68	2.29
Upper	20	11.95	2.14	20	14.25	1.48	40	13.10	2.16
Total	40	11.85	2.29	40	13.93	1.59	80	12.89	2.22

TABLE 7

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE:
TASK I

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Mean	13287.01	1	13287.01	3434.45
Grade (G)	86.11	1	86.11	22.26**
Race (R)	27.61	1	27.61	7.14**
Sex (X)	0.01	1	0.01	0.00
SES (S)	3.61	1	3.61	0.93
G, R	0.61	1	0.61	0.16
G, X	1.01	1	1.01	0.26
G, S	1.01	1	1.01	0.26
R, X	0.31	1	0.31	0.08
R, S	0.61	1	0.61	0.16
X, S	6.61	1	6.61	1.71
G, R, X	6.61	1	6.61	1.71
G, R, S	2.11	1	2.11	0.55
R, X, S	5.51	1	5.51	1.42
G, X, S	0.31	1	0.31	0.08
G, R, X, S	0.31	1	0.31	0.08
Error	247.60	64	3.87	

**Significant at $p < .01$.
*Significant at $p < .05$.

race with black students having more difficulty in recognizing such forms as different than white students--was also accepted. White students had a mean score of 13.48 correct responses, whereas black students had a mean score of 12.30 correct responses. The resulting F = 7.14 was significant at the .05 level.

In order to determine more precisely whether race differences were present in both grades 1 and 5, separate analyses of variance were carried out for the 40 subjects in each grade level. The resulting analyses indicated that the scores for the fifth-graders (white mean score of 14.60, black mean score of 13.25) were significantly different at the .05 level, but that the scores for the first-graders (white mean score of 12.35, black mean score of 11.35) were not.

Hypothesis 3--the ability to recognize SE and equivalent BE forms as different will be related to social class--was rejected. The mean scores of 13.05 for the upper-class students and 12.80 for the lower-class students was in the anticipated direction (that lower-class students would have more difficulty than upper-class students), but this difference was not significant.

Hypothesis 4--the ability to recognize SE and equivalent BE forms as different would have no relation to sex--was accepted. There was no significant difference between the mean score of males (12.90) and that of females (12.88).

Task II Hypotheses

The mean and standard deviation scores for each treatment category in Task II, Identification of "Correctness" of Speech, is shown in Tables 8 and 10. Tables 9 and 11 give the analyses of variance for Task II.

Hypothesis 5--the tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" will increase with age--was rejected for SE forms but accepted for BE forms. The mean scores of 10.15 correct responses for first-graders and 10.43 for fifth-graders (out of a total possible right of 12) indicated that both age groups had a high awareness of SE as being "the right way." The difference between the mean scores of the two groups was not significant. On the other hand, the mean scores of 8.85 for first-graders and 10.03 for fifth-graders on the BE portion of Task II (out of a total possible right of 12) was significant at the .05 level with a resulting *F* of 4.45.

Hypothesis 6--the tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" will be related to race--was rejected. It had been

TABLE 8

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION:
TASK IIA (SE AS RIGHT)

Category	Grade 1			Grade 5			Both grades		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Black	20	9.75	3.18	20	10.20	1.94	40	9.98	2.61
White	20	10.55	1.73	20	10.65	2.41	40	10.60	2.07
Male	20	10.10	2.38	20	10.25	2.10	40	10.18	2.22
Female	20	10.20	2.78	20	10.60	2.28	40	10.40	2.52
Lower	20	9.65	3.07	20	10.00	2.10	40	9.83	2.60
Upper	20	10.65	1.87	20	10.85	2.21	40	10.75	2.02
Total	40	10.15	2.56	40	10.43	2.17	80	10.29	2.36

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TASK IIA
(SE AS RIGHT)

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Mean	8466.61	1	8466.61	1523.80
Grade (G)	1.51	1	1.51	0.27
Race (R)	7.81	1	7.81	1.41
Sex (X)	1.01	1	1.01	0.18
SES (S)	17.11	1	17.11	3.08
G, R	0.61	1	0.61	0.11
G, X	0.31	1	0.31	0.06
G, S	0.11	1	0.11	0.02
R, X	0.31	1	0.31	0.06
R, S	17.11	1	17.11	3.08
X, S	0.31	1	0.31	0.06
G, R, X	2.11	1	2.11	0.38
G, R, S	0.61	1	0.61	0.11
R, X, S	0.61	1	0.61	0.11
G, X, S	0.11	1	0.11	0.02
G, R, X, S	35.11	1	35.11	6.32*
Error	355.60	64	5.56	

**Significant at $p < .01$.
*Significant at $p < .05$.

TABLE 10

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION: TASK IIB (BE AS WRONG)

Category	Grade 1			Grade 5			Both grades		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Black	20	7.95	3.01	20	9.10	2.65	40	8.53	2.86
White	20	9.75	2.69	20	10.95	1.54	40	10.35	2.25
Male	20	8.00	2.88	20	10.10	2.49	40	9.05	2.86
Female	20	9.70	2.86	20	9.95	2.24	40	9.83	2.54
Lower	20	8.25	3.16	20	9.80	2.80	40	9.03	3.05
Upper	20	9.45	2.70	20	10.25	1.80	40	9.85	2.30
Total	40	8.85	2.97	40	10.03	2.34	80	9.44	2.72

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TASK IIB
(BE AS WRONG)

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Mean	7125.31	1	7125.31	1149.24
Grade (G)	27.61	1	27.61	4.45*
Race (R)	66.61	1	66.61	10.74**
Sex (X)	12.01	1	12.01	1.94
SES (S)	13.61	1	13.61	2.20
G, R	0.01	1	0.01	0.00
G, X	17.11	1	17.11	2.76
G, S	2.81	1	2.81	0.45
R, X	0.31	1	0.31	0.05
R, S	17.11	1	17.11	2.76
X, S	19.01	1	19.01	3.07
G, R, X	1.51	1	1.51	0.24
G, R, S	3.61	1	3.61	0.58
R, X, S	4.51	1	4.51	0.73
G, X, S	1.01	1	1.01	0.16
G, R, X, S	0.01	1	0.01	0.00
Error	396.80	64	6.20	

**Significant at $p < .01$.
*Significant at $p < .05$.

hypothesized that black students would be less likely to identify SE forms as "the right way." Although the mean scores of 9.98 for black students and 10.60 for white students were in the expected direction, this difference was not significant. It had also been hypothesized that white students would be less likely to recognize BE forms as "the wrong way." The data indicated that the opposite was true. The mean score of 10.35 for white students was significantly higher (F = 10.74) beyond the .01 level than the mean score for black students of 8.53. Separate analyses of variance for each grade level indicated that this racial difference held for both the first- and the fifth-graders.

Hypothesis 7--the tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" would be related to social class--was rejected. The upper-class groups, in both instances, showed slightly higher mean scores (10.75 and 9.85) than the lower-class scores (9.83 and 9.03) but the differences between the scores were not significant.

Hypothesis 8--the tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" would have no relation to sex--was accepted. In both the

SE and BE portions of the tasks, the females showed slightly higher mean scores (10.40 and 9.83) as compared to the male mean scores (10.18 and 9.05) but these differences were not significant.

Task III Hypotheses

Tables 12 and 14 present the mean and standard deviation for each treatment category in Task III, Identification of Race. The analyses of variance for Task III are given in Tables 13 and 15.

Hypothesis 9--with increasing age, subjects would identify the speaker of SE forms as being white and the speaker of BE forms as being black--was accepted. The mean scores for first-graders were 6.03 and 7.25 correct responses (out of a total possible right of 12), whereas the mean scores for fifth-graders were 9.15 and 10.43. The differences were significant well beyond the .01 level with F = 31.22 and 29.14, respectively.

Hypothesis 10--identification of the speaker of SE as being white and the speaker of BE as being black would be related to race--was rejected. It was hypothesized that black students would be less likely to recognize the speaker of SE forms as white. The mean score of 7.38 correct responses for black students as compared to 7.80 for white students was in the expected direction, but this difference was not significant. It had also been

TABLE 12

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION:
TASK IIIA (SE AS WHITE)

Category	Grade 1			Grade 5			Both grades		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Black	20	5.85	2.46	20	8.90	2.32	40	7.38	2.82
White	20	6.20	2.69	20	9.40	2.46	40	7.80	3.01
Male	20	5.90	2.36	20	8.65	2.56	40	7.28	2.80
Female	20	6.15	2.77	20	9.65	2.11	40	7.90	3.01
Lower	20	5.40	2.23	20	8.80	2.78	40	7.10	3.03
Upper	20	6.65	2.74	20	9.50	1.88	40	8.08	2.73
Total	40	6.03	2.55	40	9.15	2.37	80	7.59	2.91

TABLE 13

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TASK IIIA
(SE AS WHITE)

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Mean	4605.61	1	4605.61	736.16
Grade (G)	195.31	1	195.31	31.22**
Race (R)	3.61	1	3.61	0.58
Sex (X)	7.81	1	7.81	1.25
SES (S)	19.01	1	19.01	3.04
G, R	0.11	1	0.11	0.02
G, X	2.81	1	2.81	0.45
G, S	1.51	1	1.51	0.24
R, X	0.01	1	0.01	0.00
R, S	5.51	1	5.51	0.88
X, S	2.81	1	2.81	0.45
G, R, X	1.01	1	1.01	0.16
G, R, S	1.01	1	1.01	0.16
R, X, S	0.11	1	0.11	0.02
G, X, S	1.01	1	1.01	0.16
G, R, X, S	25.31	1	25.31	4.05*
Error	400.40	64	6.26	

**Significant at $p < .01$.
*Significant at $p < .05$.

TABLE 14

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION: TASK IIIB (BE AS BLACK)

Category	Grade 1			Grade 5			Both grades		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Black	20	6.40	2.23	20	10.05	2.09	40	8.23	2.82
White	20	8.10	3.14	20	10.80	2.73	40	9.45	3.21
Male	20	6.85	2.76	20	10.20	3.02	40	8.53	3.32
Female	20	7.65	2.91	20	10.65	1.69	40	9.15	2.80
Lower	20	7.45	3.00	20	9.90	3.06	40	8.68	3.24
Upper	20	7.05	2.70	20	10.95	1.47	40	9.00	2.92
Total	40	7.25	2.83	40	10.43	2.43	80	8.84	3.07

TABLE 15

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TASK IIIB (BE AS BLACK)

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Mean	6248.11	1	6248.11	903.07
Grade (G)	201.61	1	201.61	29.14**
Race (R)	30.01	1	30.01	4.34*
Sex (X)	7.81	1	7.81	1.13
SES (S)	2.11	1	2.11	0.31
G, R	4.51	1	4.51	0.65
G, X	0.61	1	0.61	0.09
G, S	10.51	1	10.51	1.52
R, X	23.11	1	23.11	3.34
R, S	0.61	1	0.61	0.09
X, S	10.51	1	10.51	1.52
G, R, X	0.31	1	0.31	0.05
G, R, S	3.61	1	3.61	0.52
R, X, S	3.61	1	3.61	0.52
G, X, S	1.01	1	1.01	0.15
G, R, X, S	0.11	1	0.11	0.02
Error	442.80	64	6.92	

**Significant at $p < .01$.
*Significant at $p < .05$.

hypothesized that white students would be less likely to recognize the speaker of BE forms as black. The data indicated that the opposite was true. The mean score of 9.45 correct responses for white students was significantly higher at the .05 level than the mean score of 8.23 for black students, with an F = 4.34.

Hypothesis 11--the tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as white and the speaker of BE forms as black would have no relationship to social class--was accepted. The mean scores of 8.08 and 9.00 for upper-class students were not significantly different from the mean scores of 7.10 and 8.68 for lower-class students.

Hypothesis 12--the tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as being white and the speaker of BE forms as being black would have no relationship with sex--was also accepted. The mean scores of 7.90 and 9.15 for females were slightly, but not significantly, higher than the mean scores for males of 7.28 and 8.53.

Task IV Hypotheses

The mean and standard deviation for each treatment category in Task IV, Identification of Class, are shown in Tables 16 and 18. Tables 17 and 19 present the analyses of variance for Task IV.

Hypothesis 13--with increasing age, subjects would identify the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and

TABLE 16

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION:
TASK IVA (SE AS UPPER)

Category	Grade 1			Grade 5			Both grades		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Black	20	6.05	3.33	20	9.75	2.02	40	7.90	3.30
White	20	7.30	2.96	20	10.70	1.78	40	9.00	2.96
Male	20	5.80	3.07	20	10.40	1.90	40	8.10	3.43
Female	20	7.55	3.10	20	10.05	2.01	40	8.80	2.88
Lower	20	7.00	3.06	20	10.00	1.92	40	8.50	2.94
Upper	20	6.35	3.33	20	10.45	1.99	40	8.40	3.41
Total	40	6.68	3.17	40	10.23	1.94	80	8.45	3.17

TABLE 17

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TASK IVA (SE AS UPPER)

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Mean	5712.20	1	5712.20	815.30
Grade (G)	252.05	1	252.05	35.98**
Race (R)	24.20	1	24.20	3.45
Sex (X)	9.80	1	9.80	1.40
SES (S)	0.20	1	0.20	0.03
G, R	0.45	1	0.45	0.06
G, X	22.05	1	22.05	3.15
G, S	6.05	1	6.05	0.86
R, X	0.80	1	0.80	0.11
R, S	0.20	1	0.20	0.03
X, S	12.80	1	12.80	1.83
G, R, X	1.25	1	1.25	0.18
G, R, S	2.45	1	2.45	0.35
R, X, S	0.20	1	0.20	0.03
G, X, S	2.45	1	2.45	0.35
G, R, X, S	8.45	1	8.45	1.21
Error	448.40	64	7.01	

**Significant at $p < .01$.
*Significant at $p < .05$.

TABLE 18

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION: TASK IVB (BE AS LOWER)

Category	Grade 1			Grade 5			Both grades		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
Black	20	6.10	2.40	20	9.45	2.82	40	7.78	3.09
White	20	8.70	2.34	20	11.05	1.85	40	9.88	2.39
Male	20	7.10	2.71	20	10.25	2.55	40	8.68	3.05
Female	20	7.70	2.70	20	10.25	2.49	40	8.98	2.87
Lower	20	7.45	2.84	20	9.95	2.70	40	8.70	3.01
Upper	20	7.35	2.60	20	10.55	2.28	40	8.95	2.91
Total	40	7.40	2.69	40	10.25	2.49	80	8.83	2.95

TABLE 19

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TASK IVB
(BE AS LOWER)

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Mean	6230.45	1	6230.45	1103.96
Grade (G)	162.45	1	162.45	28.78**
Race (R)	88.20	1	88.20	15.63**
Sex (X)	1.80	1	1.80	0.32
SES (S)	1.25	1	1.25	0.22
G, R	5.00	1	5.00	0.89
G, X	1.80	1	1.80	0.32
G, S	2.45	1	2.45	0.43
R, X	8.45	1	8.45	1.50
R, S	33.80	1	33.80	5.99*
X, S	7.20	1	7.20	1.28
G, R, X	2.45	1	2.45	0.43
G, R, S	0.80	1	0.80	0.14
R, X, S	1.25	1	1.25	0.22
G, X, S	5.00	1	5.00	0.89
G, R, X, S	2.45	1	2.45	0.43
Error	361.20	64	5.64	

**Significant at $p < .01$.
*Significant at $p < .05$.

the speaker of BE forms as being lower class--was accepted. The mean scores for first-graders were 6.68 and 7.40 correct responses (out of a total possible right score of 12), whereas the mean scores for fifth-graders were 10.23 and 10.25. These differences were significant well beyond the .01 level with F = 35.98 and 28.78.

Hypothesis 14--identification of the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as being lower class will have no relationship with race--was accepted for SE forms but rejected for BE forms. The mean scores for recognition of SE forms as upper were 7.90 and 9.00 for blacks and whites, respectively. These scores were not significantly different. However, the mean scores for recognition of BE forms as lower class, 7.78 for blacks and 9.88 for whites, were significantly different at the .01 level with F = 15.63.

Hypothesis 15--identification of the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as being lower class would be related to social class--was also rejected. The mean scores of 8.40 and 8.95 for upper-class students were not significantly different from the mean scores of 8.50 and 8.70 for lower-class students.

Hypothesis 16--the tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as lower class will have no relationship with sex--was accepted. There was no significant difference between the mean scores of females, 8.80 and 8.98, versus the mean scores of males, 8.10 and 8.68.

Length of Residence

Hypothesis 17--for the black students there would be no relationship between length of residence in the north and performance on Tasks I, II, III, and IV--could not be tested. There were only three black students who had been born in the south, an insufficient number to obtain any meaningful analysis.

The Specific Linguistic Features

In addition to the above hypotheses, a tabulation of the number of errors connected with each of the four linguistic features was planned to see whether any specific patterns emerged. However, the final tasks had been reduced to contain only one-half of the original items as a result of the pilot study findings that the children could not tolerate the length of the original tasks. Such a reduction made it very unlikely that the subscore totals dealing with the four features of speech would yield reliable differences. An analysis was carried out, but, as anticipated, differences were unsystematic, spotty, and felt to be unreliable. For those reasons, it was decided to omit that portion of the data from this report.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Each of Tasks I, II, III, and IV had hypotheses which dealt with predictions concerning the independent variables--age, race, social class, and sex. Because the data from each of the tasks lead to similar conclusions regarding each of the independent variables, it seems expedient to discuss the conclusions regarding the hypotheses in an order dealing with the independent variables themselves, cutting across all four tasks. Before discussing the findings themselves, however, it will be helpful to describe two more statistical procedures which were performed to facilitate the interpretation.

The Standard Scores

So that the scores across the four tasks could be compared, it was necessary to first convert them into standard scores. Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences computer program, the data were converted into z scores (mean = zero, standard deviation = 1) and the mean and standard deviation for each treatment group was determined. The resulting derived scores made it possible to have a standard frame of reference, within which the meaning of the scores could be better understood, and allowed for the comparison of scores between the four different tasks. The discussion of the hypotheses will utilize the standard score data.

The Significant Scores

A look at the data, particularly that of the first-graders, suggested that many of the scores could have been obtained merely by chance. A chance score could be interpreted as indicating that the subject's criteria for choosing a particular answer were different from that of the examiner or that he was merely guessing between the alternative choices without necessarily applying any criteria at all. For this reason it seemed wise to determine which scores could have occurred by chance and which scores indicated a significant awareness of the examiner's criteria.

The sign test (Marascuilo, 1971) was applied with a decision to reject all scores at a 5% risk of a Type I error. Application of the sign test indicated that Task I scores should be rejected as occurring merely by chance if the score was less than 13 correct responses and that Task II, III, and IV scores should be rejected as occurring merely by chance if the total score for both the BE and SE portions in each task was less than 18. It was decided to use total scores for Tasks II, III, and IV because there were some cases of perseveration in which a student fixated on one response. Such perseveration would have given an artificially high correct score for one subportion of the task but would show chance level when both subportion scores were considered together.

The data were analyzed by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences CODEBOOK computer program which selected only the significant scores and then determined the number of subjects whose answers were significantly above chance for each treatment category. The resulting data were then converted into percentage figures and _z_ tests for the difference between the two percentages for each treatment group were performed. Discussion of the hypotheses will utilize these data as well.

Age Hypotheses

Four hypotheses dealt with the variable of age.

Hypothesis 1. The ability to recognize SE forms and equivalent BE forms as different would increase with age (Task I).

Hypothesis 5. The tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" would increase with age (Task II).

Hypothesis 9. The tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as being white and the speaker of BE forms as being black would increase with age (Task III).

Hypothesis 13. The tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as being lower class would increase with age (Task IV).

With one exception, all four age hypotheses were accepted. The exception was Hypothesis 5 which was accepted for BE forms but rejected for SE forms. In this instance, although the difference was in the anticipated direction, it was not significant.

Table 20 shows the $\underline{z}$ score means and standard deviations for the four tasks in regard to age. The results are shown graphically in Figure 1.

As shown in Figure 1, there were considerably larger differences in mean scores for Tasks I, III, and IV than for Task II, differences that resulted in the hypothesis for Task II being accepted only for BE forms. Before drawing conclusions, however, it is helpful to look at the percentages of scores that were significantly above chance for each treatment category. Those data are found in Table 21 and are illustrated graphically in Figure 2.

From Table 21 and Figure 2 it is apparent that whereas more than 70% of the fifth-grade students consistently scored above chance level on all four tasks, the first-grade students showed a much less consistent pattern.

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND CORRECT RESPONSES AS EXPRESSED IN *z* SCORES FOR TASKS I, II, III, AND IV

Task	Grade 1			Grade 5		
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
1	40	-0.47	1.03	40	0.47	0.72
2	40	-0.17	1.02	40	0.17	0.97
3	40	-0.62	0.72	40	0.62	0.84
4	40	-0.59	0.85	40	0.59	0.76

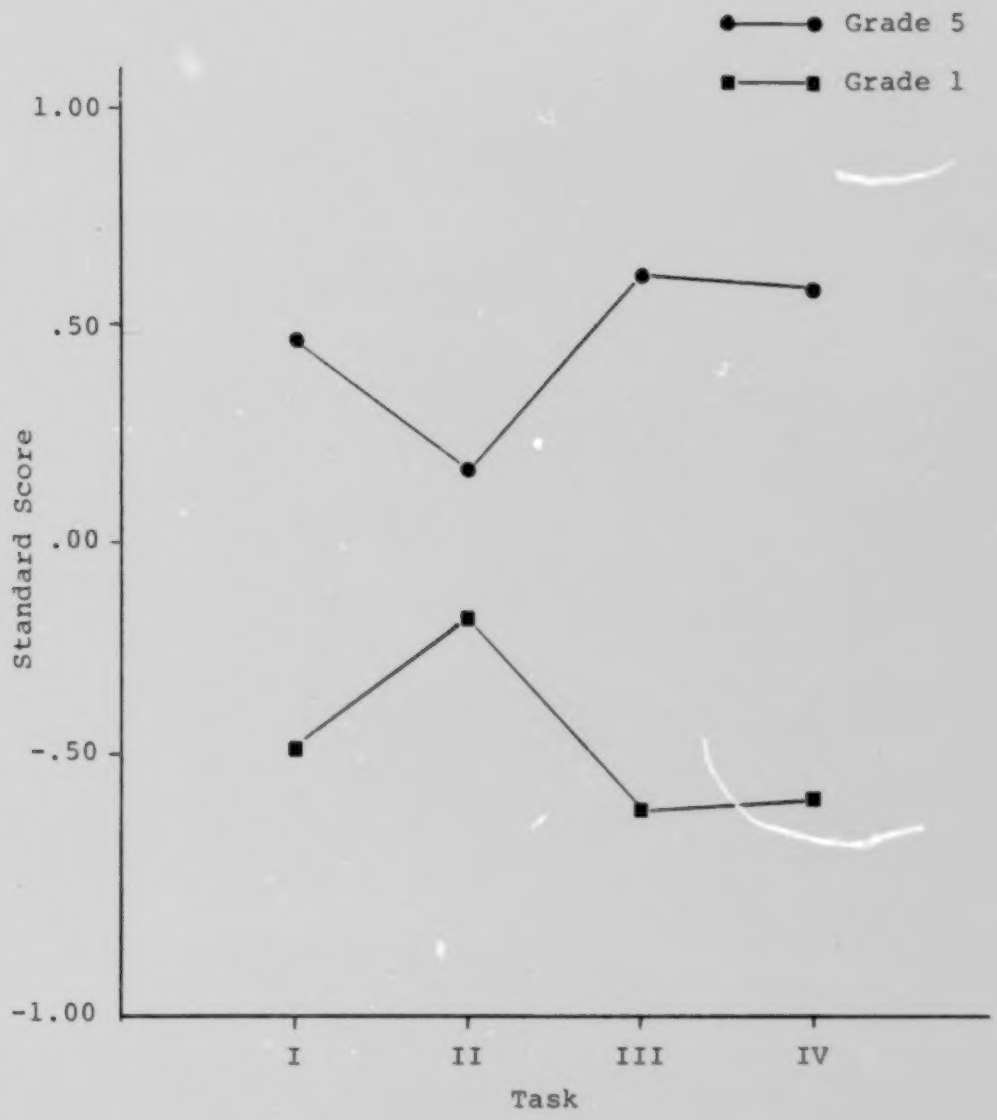

Fig. 1. Mean standard scores by age for Tasks I, II, III, and IV.

TABLE 21

PERCENT OF SUBJECTS BY AGE WHO SCORED SIGNIFICANTLY ABOVE CHANCE LEVEL FOR TASKS I, II, III, AND IV

Task	Grade 1	Grade 5	_z_ score
I	45.0	82.5	-3.49**
II	67.5	85.0	-1.84
III	17.5	72.5	-4.94**
IV	22.5	87.5	-5.84**
N	40	40	

**Significant at .01 level, 2 tail test.

*Significant at .05 level, 2 tail test.

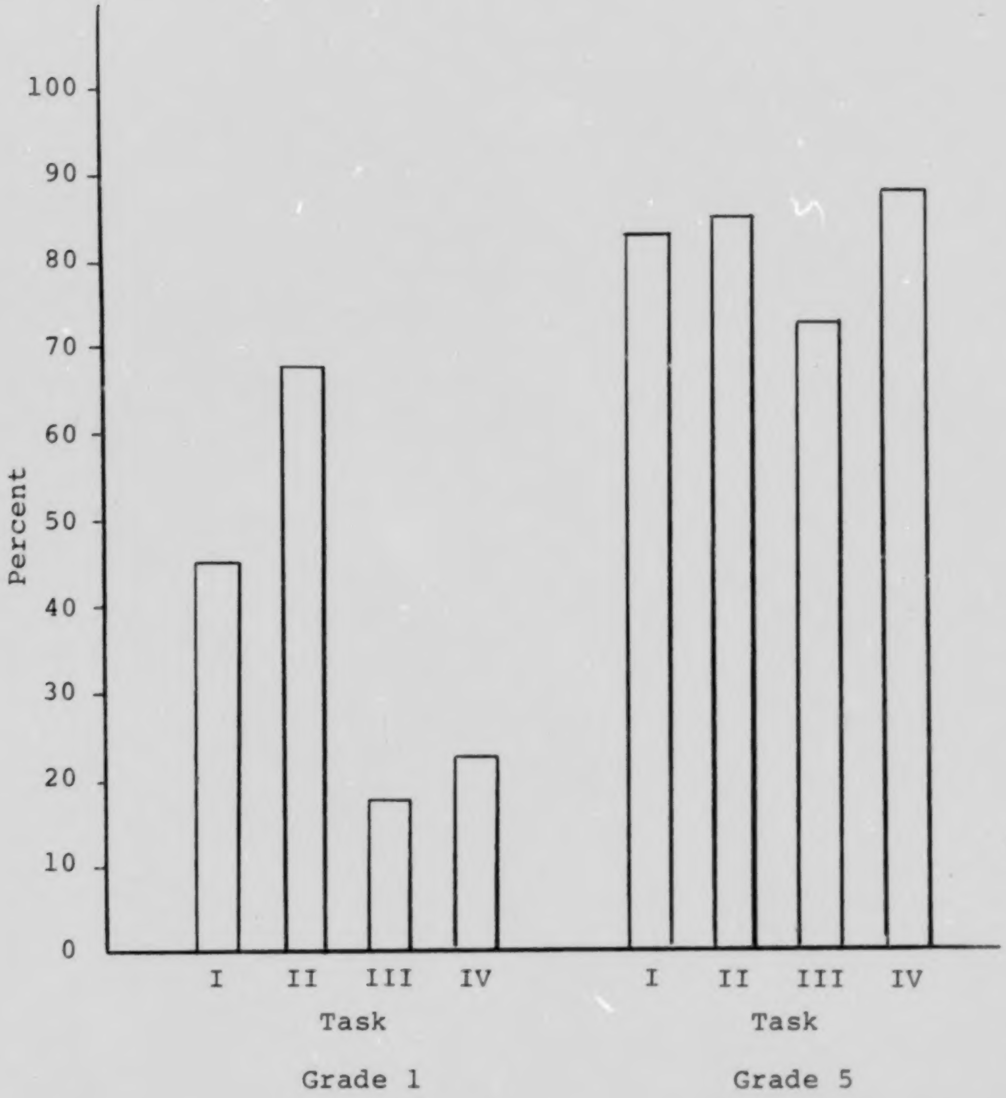

Fig. 2. Percent of students by age who scored significantly above chance level for Tasks I, II, III, and IV.

Only in Task II did they come close to the fifth-grade performance. On Tasks I, III, and IV fewer than half of the students scored above chance level. The differences between grade levels are significant for Tasks I, III, and IV but not for Task II.

Table 22 compares performance from one task to another. The difference in _z_ scores between percentages of scores above chance level for the four tasks are not significant for grade 5 scores, whereas differences between tasks are significant for the first-graders with the exception of Tasks III and IV.

On the basis of these data it can be concluded that the awareness of the social and racial significance of dialect does indeed increase with age. In the two tasks most directly measuring social and racial awareness (Tasks III and IV), there is a large difference in the performance between grade 1 and grade 5 subjects.

On the other hand, this particular study does not clearly indicate that awareness of SE forms as being "the right way" and BE forms as being "the wrong way" increases with age for this particular age range of subjects. Rather, the data from the percentage of scores significantly above chance would lead to the conclusion that by grade 1 many subjects already have an awareness of this concept (67.5% of subjects have scores above chance

TABLE 22

_z_ SCORES FOR SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PERCENT OF SCORES ABOVE CHANCE LEVEL BETWEEN TASKS I, II, III, AND IV AS RELATED TO AGE

Task	Grade 1	Grade 5	Total
I-II	-2.03*	-0.30	-1.73
I-III	2.65**	1.07	2.38*
I-IV	2.13*	-0.63	1.13
II-III	4.52**	1.37	4.05**
II-IV	4.05**	-0.32	2.83**
III-IV	-0.56	-1.68	-1.26
N	40	40	80

**Significant at .01 level, 2 tail test.

*Significant at .05 level, 2 tail test.

level). Further establishment of this particular hypothesis would require testing subjects of a younger age than were in this particular study.

Whereas Task I had initially been viewed as a preliminary task, necessary for success on Tasks II, III, and IV, the fact that the first-grade percentage of subjects who scored significantly above chance on Task I was significantly lower than the percentage on Task II indicates that this may not have been a correct assumption. It may be that Task I required more attention (since it required the subjects to listen to two paired subjects before giving a response) than the other tasks (in which the subjects heard only one sentence at a time). This attention span factor may have accounted for the difference in performance. Task I may also have required the students to carry on the mental operation which Piaget calls reversibility (which was discussed earlier in this paper on page 37), an operation which children who are in the preoperational level (roughly 4 to 7 years) lack the ability to perform. Another possibility is due to the fact that Task II was given last in the series and may have resulted in additional practice time in listening for the differences in the sentences.

Only two of the studies previously reviewed had specifically dealt with increasing age as a variable in awareness of speech differences. The current findings are similar to Baratz's (1969a) study. Baratz found an increasing ability in third- and fifth-graders to identify the race of a speaker according to dialect. The findings are also similar to that of Politzer and Hoover (1972) who tested second-, fourth-, and sixth-graders on their ability to identify sentences as either "school talk" or "everyday" talk. Politzer and Hoover, however, concluded that young children are not good judges of "grammatical correctness," whereas in the current study the first-graders already had a high awareness of what a teacher would say is "the right way" versus "the wrong way," which would lead to an opposite conclusion. Several points might be raised. First of all, Politzer and Hoover do not report their results in terms of the percentage of scores significantly above chance, but only in terms of differences between mean scores. It is impossible to make a complete comparison since they do not define any criteria for "awareness." Second, it is possible that the differences in examiner instructions would have caused the different results. The wording "would a teacher say it is the right (or wrong) way to say it," used in this study, may have been more concrete than the instruction of "is this the language one is supposed to use in the classroom versus outside of school" used in the Politzer and Hoover study. Another possibility is that the tasks may have really been testing different measures. Politzer and Hoover's task may have been more comparable to the current Task III, dealing with social class (which is similar to social situation), and in which first-graders indeed showed very little awareness, rather than a measure of grammatical correctness from the teacher's point of view.

Although first-graders do show significant awareness of what a teacher would say is "the right way" versus "the wrong way," they are not very aware of race and class differences, as indicated by their low percentage of scores significantly above chance in these two tasks. One might hypothesize that already their school experience has led them to make a distinction between what language forms are pleasing and are not pleasing to the teacher, but that they may view this difference as being peculiar to teacher values and do not yet have any adult awareness of the social and racial significance behind these forms. This conclusion would tend to support the Labov (1964) model of the acquisition of the full range of spoken English styles, as discussed on page 30 of this study.

Race Hypotheses

Four hypotheses dealt with the variable of race.

Hypothesis 2. The ability to recognize SE forms and equivalent BE forms as different would be related to race with black students having more difficulty in recognizing such forms as different than white students (Task I).

Hypothesis 6. The tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" would be related to race with black students being less likely to identify SE forms as "the right way" and white students being less likely to identify BE forms as "the wrong way" (Task II).

Hypothesis 10. Identification of the speaker of SE forms as being white and the speaker of BE forms as being black would be related to race with black students being less likely to recognize speakers of SE forms as white and white students being less likely to recognize speakers of BE forms as black (Task III).

Hypothesis 14. Identification of the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as being lower class would have no relationship with race (Task IV).

The findings for these hypotheses were mixed. Although Hypothesis 2 was accepted, the results of Hypotheses 6, 10, and 14 showed a pattern that, while not predicted, was very consistent across the three tasks. Specifically, the differences between black students and white students in the identification of SE forms in each of the three tasks was not significant (although the scores for blacks were slightly lower than for whites), whereas the difference between the two races in the identification of BE forms was significant for all three tasks with black students achieving considerably lower scores than white students.

Table 23 shows the z score means and standard deviations for each of the subportions of Tasks II, III, and IV in regard to race. The results are shown graphically in Figure 3.

As shown by Figure 3, there was a larger difference in mean scores for the BE subportions of Tasks II, III, and IV than there were for the SE subportions of the three tasks, resulting in the conclusion that while there is little difference in the tendency of the black and white students to identify SE forms, black students are less likely to recognize BE forms. These differences cut across all three tasks, whether one is being asked to judge race, class, or what a teacher would say is "the right way" versus "the wrong way."

The current findings do not support the original hypotheses, nor those of Kessler (1970), on which the current hypotheses were based. Kessler theorized that there may be a tendency by which the informant finds greater

TABLE 23

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACE AND CORRECT RESPONSE AS EXPRESSED IN z SCORES FOR TASKS II, III, AND IV

Dialect	Task	Black			White		
		N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.
SE	II	40	-0.13	1.10	40	0.13	0.88
	III	40	-0.07	0.97	40	0.07	1.04
	IV	40	-0.17	1.04	40	-0.17	0.94
BE	II	40	-0.34	1.05	40	0.34	0.83
	III	40	-0.20	0.92	40	0.20	1.05
	IV	40	-0.36	1.05	40	-0.36	0.81

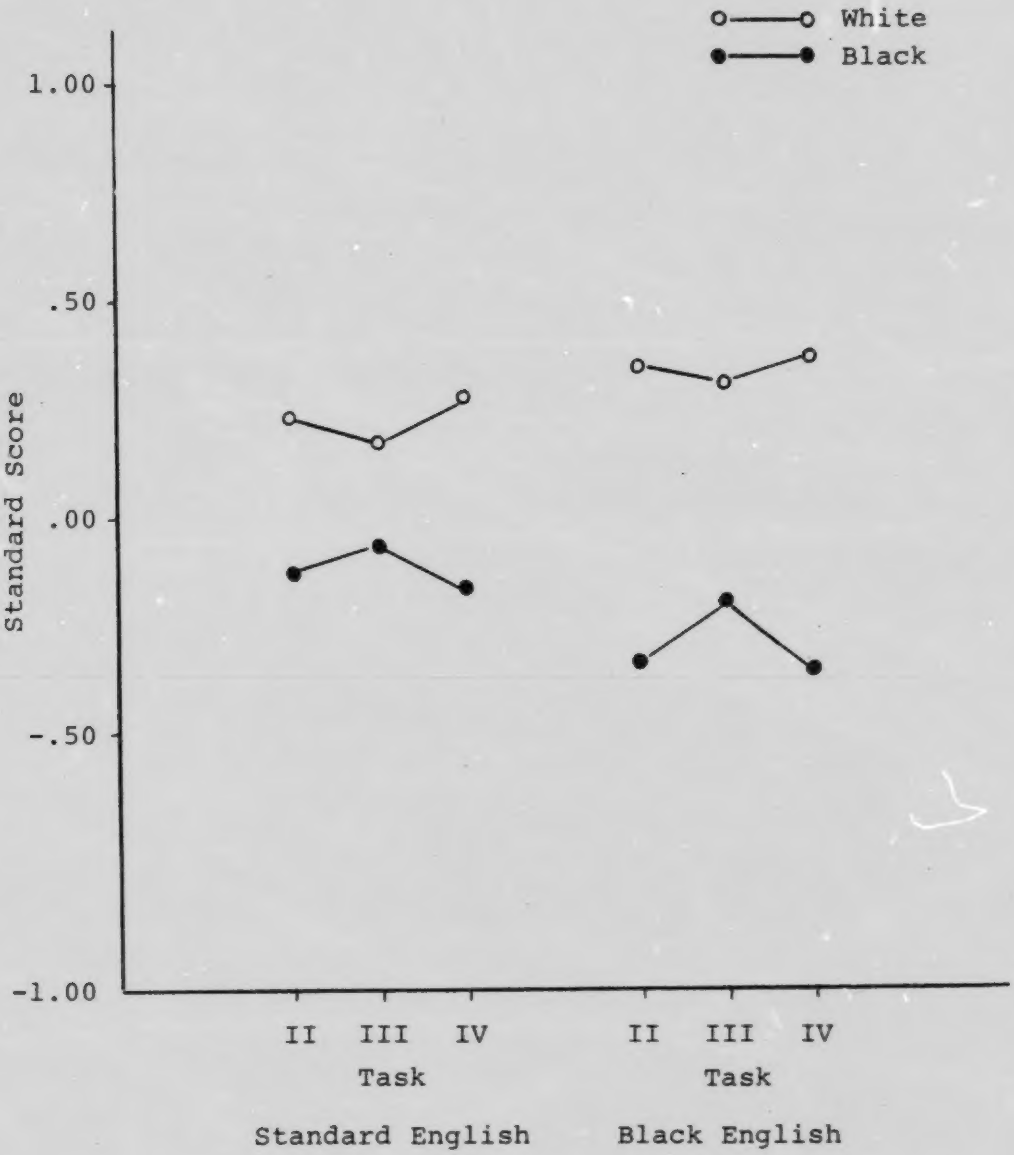

Fig. 3. Mean standard scores by race for Tasks II, III, and IV.

difficulty in recognizing as standard or nonstandard those forms which are not always part of his own speech. Kessler had found that white students made a higher number of errors in recognition of BE forms and that black students made a higher number of errors in recognition of SE forms. They also do not agree with the findings of Politzer and Hoover (1972) who found that their black subjects performed better than their white subjects in awareness of the difference between standard speech and nonstandard speech.

There are three factors that may account for the different findings. In the Politzer and Hoover study, the children were told that they were going to listen to sentences spoken by blacks. The authors felt that the task of differentiating between the two kinds of English spoken by blacks may have been interesting and motivating for the black children but not for the white children. In the present study, the subjects were not informed of the race of the speaker. Thus, any motivation due to the ability to identify with the race of the speaker was not present. Indeed, because the examiners who administered the tests were white, motivation may have been stronger for the white children.

Another factor may be suggested by the studies of racial awareness in young children (Clark & Clark, 1947;

Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971) which indicated that black children resist identifying with their own stigmatized racial group and by the studies of Morland (1958) and Stevenson and Stewart (1958) who found that racial self-recognition develops later in black than in white children. It may be that, threatened by awareness of belonging to the "wrong dialect" group, the black child resists making identifications that would recognize the existence of that dialect.

The racial difference can also be illustrated by looking at the percentages of scores that were significantly above chance for each treatment category. These data are found in Table 24 and are graphically illustrated in Figure 4.

From Figure 4 one can observe that whereas the white students consistently scored above chance level on the total scores on all four tasks, the black students only scored above chance level on Task II.

Table 24 demonstrates this comparison from a statistical point of view. The difference in $\underline{z}$ scores between percentages of scores above chance level is significant for Tasks I and II, indicating that white students achieved higher scores than the black students in the total scores for these two tasks. Although the original analyses of variance for Tasks II and III were

TABLE 24

PERCENT OF SUBJECTS BY RACE WHO SCORED SIGNIFICANTLY ABOVE CHANCE LEVEL FOR TASKS I, II, III, AND IV

Task	Black	White	z score
I	47.5	80.0	-3.02**
II	62.5	90.0	-2.89**
III	37.5	52.5	-1.35
IV	45.0	65.0	-1.80
N	40	40	

**Significant at .01 level, 2 tail test.

*Significant at .05 level, 2 tail test.

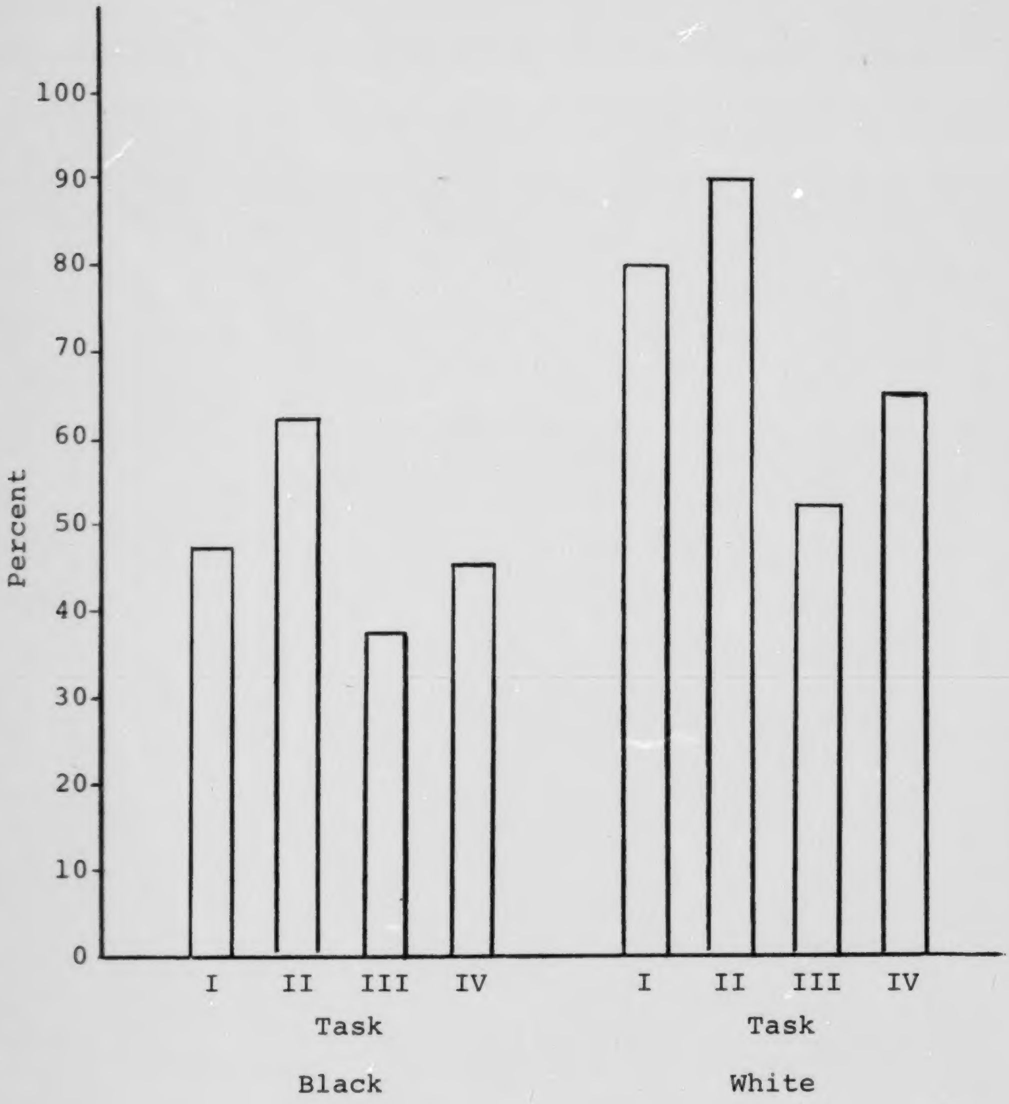

Fig. 4. Percent of students by race who scored significantly above chance level for Tasks I, II, III, and IV.

significant for race for BE scores, the difference between percentages of scores above chance level is not enough to be significant. The reason for this discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the percentage scores are dealing with the total tasks, whereas the original hypotheses deal with the subportions of the tasks.

The data suggest that for both blacks and whites, Task II received the most scores which were significantly above chance, Task I the next most, Task IV the next, and Task III the least. Table 25 compares the performance from one task to another statistically and shows that total differences were significant for Tasks I and III, II and III, and II and IV.

Since the major differences in this study occurred between grade level and race, before proceeding with the remainder of the hypotheses it might be informative to look at some of the interaction between grade and race. Such data, reported in standard scores, are given in Table 26 and shown graphically in Figure 5.

As shown in Figure 5, white students, regardless of age, show higher recognition scores than black students on the SE forms of Tasks II, III, and IV but this difference is not enough to be significant. It was significantly less likely for black students, regardless of age, to recognize BE forms as indicated by the larger difference

TABLE 25

z SCORES FOR THE SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN PERCENT OF SCORES ABOVE CHANCE LEVEL BETWEEN TASKS I, II, III, AND IV AS RELATED TO RACE

Task	Black	White	Total
I-II	-1.35	-1.25	-1.73
I-III	0.90	2.60**	2.38*
I-IV	0.90	1.50	1.13
II-III	2.24*	3.71**	4.05**
II-IV	1.57	2.67**	2.83**
III-IV	-0.68	-1.14	-1.26
N	40	40	80

**Significant at .01 level, 2 tail test.

*Significant at .05 level, 2 tail test.

TABLE 26

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GRADE, RACE, AND CORRECT RESPONSE AS EXPRESSED IN z SCORES FOR TASKS II, III, AND IV

Dialect	Task	Grade 1				Grade 5			
		Black		White		Black		White	
		$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
SE	II	-0.22	1.35	0.11	0.73	-0.04	0.82	0.15	1.02
	III	-0.59	0.85	-0.47	0.92	0.45	0.80	0.62	0.85
	IV	-0.76	1.05	-0.36	0.93	0.41	0.64	0.71	0.56
BE	II	-0.55	1.11	0.12	0.99	-0.12	0.98	0.56	0.56
	III	-0.80	0.73	-0.24	1.03	0.40	0.68	0.64	0.89
	IV	-0.93	0.82	-0.04	0.80	0.21	0.96	0.76	0.63
N		20		20		20		20	

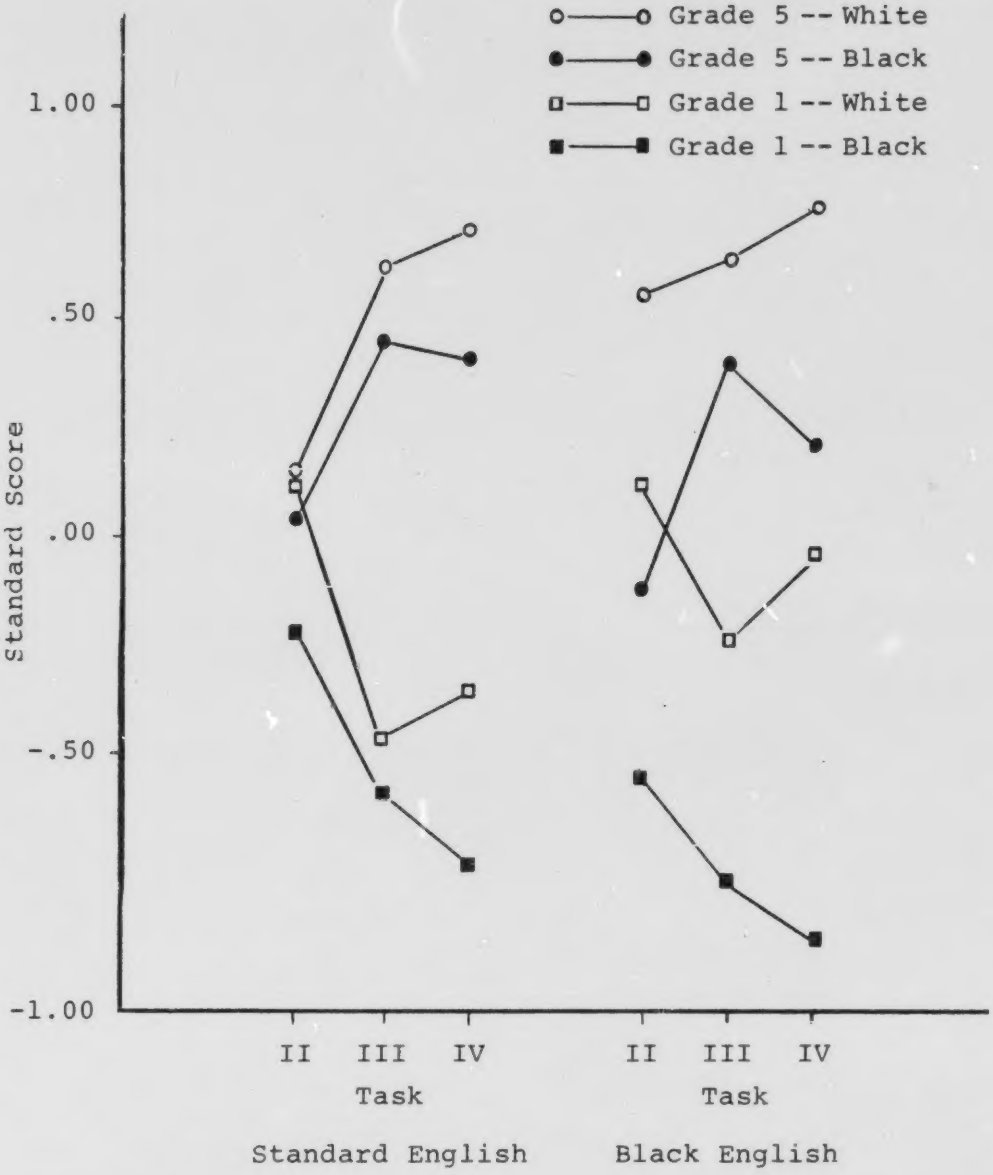

Fig. 5. Relation between grade, race, and correct responses (standard scores)

in mean scores for the BE subportions of the tasks. The scores for Task II show less variability between groups than do those of Tasks III and IV. In Task II, grade 1 white students score higher than grade 5 black students, but the grade 5 black students score higher than grade 1 white students in Tasks III and IV.

Although an uncritical interpretation of this study might suggest genetic differences due to race, one cannot isolate racial factors without being aware that race is tied in closely with ethnic and social contexts. The fact that the performance of blacks was not significantly different from the performance of white subjects on the SE tasks substantiates that no innate ability differences exist. The fact that they did more poorly on the BE tasks might suggest that there were psychological and sociological factors, related to race, that were involved.

Social Class Hypotheses

Four hypotheses dealt with the variable of social class.

Hypothesis 3. The ability to recognize SE and equivalent BE forms as different would be related to social class. Lower-class subjects, it was hypothesized, would have more difficulty in recognizing such forms as different than upper-class students (Task I).

Hypothesis 7. The tendency to identify SE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and BE forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" would be related to social class with lower-class subjects being less likely to identify SE forms as "the right way" and upper-class students being less likely to recognize BE forms as "the wrong way" (Task II).

Hypothesis 11. The tendency to identify speakers of SE forms as being white and speakers of BE forms as being black would have no relationship to social class (Task III).

Hypothesis 15. Identification of speakers as upper class or lower class would be related to social class with lower-class subjects being less likely to identify SE forms as upper class and upper-class subjects being less likely to identify BE forms as lower class (Task IV).

As with the race hypotheses, the findings for these hypotheses were mixed. Hypotheses 3, 7, and 15 were rejected. There were no significant differences between social class performance on these three tasks. Hypothesis 11 was accepted, but in this case it had been hypothesized that there would be no social class difference. In summary, no social class differences were found for any of the four tasks.

Several factors may account for these findings.

The first is that one might question the original criterion on which social class was based, namely the Reiss occupational scale. Although this remains a possible criticism, the fact that a careful division between upper- and lower-class subjects was made suggests that this criticism may be unwarranted. On the other hand, elimination of scores in the lower socioeconomic category (which were felt to be heavily represented by blacks) and of scores in the upper socioeconomic category (which were heavily represented by whites) may have resulted in groups which were more homogeneous than are often represented in studies dealing with social class.

Another factor may exist as well. In a caste society (and unfortunately the United States is still very much in this position), it may be impossible to control entirely for socioeconomic status. To be a middle-class black is not the same as being a middle-class white. A black holding a particular middle-class occupation does not necessarily share the same cultural background or the same value system and behavior patterns as a middle-class white holding the same occupation. Furthermore, the existence of segregated residential areas may result in a certain amount of interaction between class lines, particularly for blacks.

It is also often the case that middle-class persons are only a generation or less removed from working-class status. Those who have recently attained middle-class status occupationally may still retain homogeneous cultural ties with the lower-class group despite occupational distinctions. One might also raise the question of whether the Somerset area of Franklin Township, which is an area that has experienced recent and rapid growth in population, would have the formal and rigid class distinctions of an older, more settled community.

Although mean standard scores were computed for the social class treatment variable, since the differences were not significant, it is not necessary to report them here. It is interesting, however, to examine the percentage of subjects who scored significantly above chance level in each of the tasks. The results are given in Table 27 and are shown graphically in Figure 6.

Although differences are not significant for Tasks I, III, and IV, there was a significantly larger percentage of upper-class subjects who scored above chance level than lower-class students for Task II.

It is impossible to compare these findings with other studies, as none of the earlier studies on the development of awareness of dialect in children specifically controlled for social class in the manner of this study. Kessler (1970) states that her subjects represented

TABLE 27

PERCENT OF SUBJECTS BY SOCIAL CLASS WHO SCORED SIGNIFICANTLY ABOVE CHANCE LEVEL FOR TASKS I, II, III, AND IV

Task	Lower	Upper	_z_ score
I	62.5	65.0	-0.23
II	65.0	87.5	-2.36 **
III	42.5	47.5	-0.45
IV	52.5	57.5	-0.45
N	40	40	

**Significant at .01 level, 2 tail test.

*Significant at .05 level, 2 tail test.

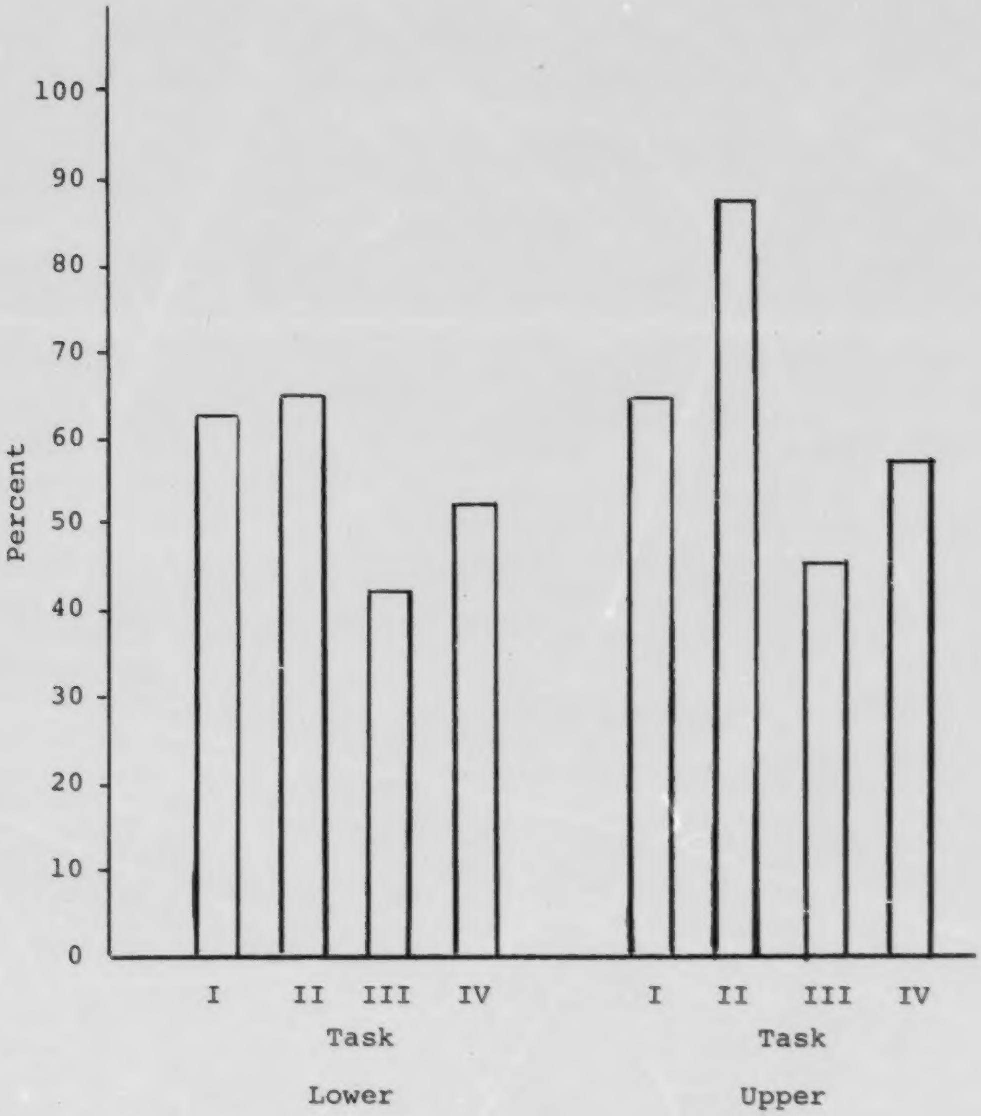

Fig. 6. Percent of students by social class who scored significantly above chance level for Tasks I, II, III, and IV.

a fair degree of economic homogeneity coming principally from middle-class homes. Politzer and Hoover (1972) state that their subjects were primarily lower to lower-middle class. Baratz's (1969a) black subjects were disadvantaged, whereas the white subjects were lower middle class. None of the studies report any findings in terms of social class.

Sex Hypotheses

Four hypotheses dealt with the variable of sex.

Hypothesis 4. The ability to recognize SE and equivalent BE forms as different would have no relation to sex (Task I).

Hypothesis 8. The tendency to identify SE forms as being "the right way" and BE forms as being "the wrong way" would have no relation to sex (Task II).

Hypothesis 12. The tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as being white and the speaker of BE forms as being black would have no relation with sex (Task III).

Hypothesis 16. The tendency to identify the speaker of SE forms as being upper class and the speaker of BE forms as lower class will have no relationship with sex (Task IV).

In all four instances the null hypotheses were accepted. There were no significant differences between the mean scores of males and those of the females.

Although mean standard scores and percentages of significant scores were computed for the sex treatment variable, since the differences were not significant, it is not necessary to report them here.

It is difficult to compare these findings with other studies dealing with awareness of dialect. Neither Bouchard (1969) nor Baratz (1969a) described sex differences. Kessler's (1970) subjects were all girls. Politzer and Hoover (1972) reported that girls generally achieved better than boys; however, there were some exceptions to this pattern in their study.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations of the study which may or may not have influenced the results, but should be specified. They fall into three areas: design, population and sample, and instrumentation. Each area will be considered in turn.

Design. Several variables were left uncontrolled which may have been potentially contaminating factors.

In retrospect, in view of the differences that were found between black and white students, it might have been wise to control for the social-psychological aspect of the race of the examiner. The use of white interviewers with black subjects may well have influenced the responses of both black and white children.

It might also have been wise to have another dialect control, such as white Appalachian, to know whether _all_ different dialects lead to negative stereotypes and also whether BE is really paired with black speakers. It may be that the children can discriminate differences and tell which is "right" but then associate any one of several "wrong" forms with blacks. One does not know whether the children have generally negative views of any outgroup (meaning a group that speaks differently from them) or a variety of views. If the former is true, "dialect" does not mean a BE speaker but merely a different speaker. The experiment as set up did not allow one to choose between these two explanations. Although this limitation was considered in planning the experiment, and raised by Entwistle (1973), it was felt that while the concern was justifiable, expanding the study to account for this factor would necessitate enlarging an already ambitious undertaking. It was also felt that this factor might not be so critical in the New Jersey area as it might be in other areas of the country.

Population and sample. Subjects for the study were 40 first-grade and 40 fifth-grade students in the Somerset area of the Franklin Township Public Schools. Random selection of these subjects would insure that these subjects were representative of the final population from which they were selected, but not necessarily from the total population in the schools. Nor is there any claim that they are typical of children in other school districts.

Instrumentation. The four tests were original ones and their psychometric dimensions have yet to be fully established. Due to their mode of construction, the tasks can be said to have theoretical construct validity. Reliability was not directly assessed in this particular study, although the high consistency of score patterns among tasks suggests that it exists. It will need to be measured directly at a later time.

Ideally one would have liked the tapes produced by a black who could switch codes so completely that the phonology for the BE would have been consistent with its syntax and vice versa, if such a speaker exists. In reality, with the particular speaker who was used, only the syntax was varied while the phonology represented a blend with each sentence having a mixture of both BE (or perhaps southern standard) and SE features, and phonological differences between the equivalent sentences were at a minimum. This situation had the advantage of focusing on the four features of speech that were being examined. However, since no sentence was entirely BE or entirely SE, an erroneous picture may have emerged.

The focus on minimal differences may also have resulted in too few clues as compared to the number that are present in ordinary speech. It may be that use of a speaker with a purer dialect for both BE and SE would have resulted in even earlier awareness of differences than are indicated by the present results. On the other hand, educational efforts toward helping children master a standard dialect tend to focus on the mastery of particular speech forms; thus, the current study may be better able to contribute information on the timing of such instruction than it would have been if it had treated dialect differences in a global fashion.

Finally, it must be cautioned that the tasks in the current study merely dealt with students' awareness of dialect differences. It did not deal with their ability to produce or their actual production of different dialect forms. One must distinguish between competence (or knowledge) and performance (actual use) in linguistic theory (Hymes, 1971).

Implications for Future Research

Further validation of these findings might be obtained by a study which controlled for the race of the examiner as a potential contaminating aspect. Another factor that might be controlled for in future studies is the subjects' native dialect.

In order to answer the question of whether BE is really recognized by the children as being an ethnic characteristic, it would be helpful to plan a study which asked subjects to recognize the speakers of several different dialects, such as white Appalachian, Spanish speakers, and speakers of American Indian languages. The particular dialects to be chosen would depend on the geographic region in which the study took place and the results would undoubtedly be influenced by the frequency of usage of a particular dialect in that particular geographic region.

Additional testing of specific linguistic features, perhaps focusing on features which are radically different in form (whereas the present study dealt with features that were similar in form), might yield data on differences in perception of these forms. Such research is currently being conducted but should be extended downward to younger subjects.

Testing of children of elementary age and even younger on global speech samples would also be valuable. It may well be that subjects would show awareness of global dialect differences earlier than they show awareness of specific morphological features.

Finally, more research on the psychological factors which may lead to resistance toward recognition of one's dialect as being "different" and toward learning a standard dialect may help to further the ability of educators to solve the problem of helping minority children fit into the mainstream of society.

Some Theoretical Implications

The findings of the present study suggest that the Labov (1964) hypothesis that early adolescence is the stage during which the child becomes aware of the social significance of dialect characteristics is applicable to the current group of subjects. Although the subjects as early as first grade showed ability to distinguish between what a teacher would say is "the right way" and "the wrong way" to speak, fewer than half were able to identify the speaker according to race or social class; thus, the racial and social significance of dialect differences appeared to be hidden from them. By fifth grade the students are able to identify the speaker by race and class more than 70% of the time. Thus, awareness of the social and racial significance of dialect does indeed increase with age.

The current findings would also suggest that there is a tendency for black students not to identify BE forms as what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" to speak or to attribute them to black speakers or to members of a lower class. Their performance on identification of SE forms, however, is similar to whites. Such a finding would suggest that there may be a resistance among black children to identify with their own stigmatized dialect, similar to the resistance among young black children toward identifying with their own racial group (Clark & Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Morland, 1958; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). This racial difference would also seem to cut across social class differences.

Some Practical Applications

Task I results would suggest that children of first grade can hear the difference between BE and SE features of speech, a necessary first step in any attempt to teach SE to speakers of nonstandard dialects.

However, the inability of first-grade children to recognize the racial and social implications of dialect as contrasted with their early ability to identify speech forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" or "the wrong way" has interesting educational implications. One can conclude that teachers are currently very successful in communicating their views about standard speech to children of first-grade age, but that there is no evidence that these children are aware of the racial and social significance of dialectal differences.

One might suggest that if teachers desire to extend their students' ability beyond the native dialect at this age level, they will have to rely on motivational factors that deal primarily with the desire to please the teacher or with the sheer fun of verbalization. Use of economic and social success as motivators will have little impact on this age group.

It is indeed possible for children to be made aware of speech differences at the first-grade level (at least in terms of pleasing the teacher). One might still raise the question of whether this awareness is sufficient to justify attempts to change their speech or whether it would be more expedient to wait until the students can employ more adult-like attitudes as motivators toward speech change.

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APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION AND SAMPLE

TABLE A1

CHARACTERISTICS OF FRANKLIN TOWNSHIP SCHOOL POPULATION

	Grade 1			Grade 5		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total N	192	177	369	195	165	360
Total White	106	101	207	111	96	207
SES level						
0-10	1	2	3	1	2	3
*11-30	19	8	27	15	9	24
31-38	2	5	7	6	2	8
*39-70	41	44	85	43	39	82
71-100	42	38	80	44	41	85
No SES obtainable (total)	1	4	5	2	3	5
Unemployed	0	1	1	0	1	1
Deceased	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guardian	0	1	1	1	0	1
Insufficient information	1	2	3	1	1	2
Retired	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total Black	63	64	127	57	44	101
SES level						
0-10	4	5	9	3	4	7
*11-30	23	26	49	25	24	49
31-38	1	4	5	5	2	7
*39-70	22	17	39	13	9	22
71-100	5	4	9	2	0	2
No SES obtainable (total)	8	8	16	9	5	14
Unemployed	1	2	3	0	0	0
Deceased	0	1	1	2	0	2
Guardian	3	1	4	2	0	2
Insufficient information	3	4	7	5	5	10
Retired	1	0	1	0	0	0

(continued)

TABLE A1 (continued)

	Grade 1			Grade 5		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total "other"	23	12	35	27	15	52
Foreign lang. in home	8	5	13	7	8	15
Other race	12	5	17	6	4	10
Speech defect	0	1	1	1	2	3
Hearing defect	1	0	1	2	1	3
Cerebral palsy	0	1	1	0	0	0
Blind	0	0	0	0	1	1
On home instruction	0	0	0	1	0	1
Retained	2	0	2	10	9	19

*Population randomly sampled from for study.

CODE FOR TABLE A2

Abbreviation Code	Variable
E	Examiner 1 = Knapp 2 = Shepherd
S#	Subject number
D/O/B	Date of birth
G	Grade
X	Sex
R	Race
Father o.	Father's occupation
Mother o.	Mother's occupation
Bp.	Place of birth (state) (Blacks only)
Yr.	Years in south (Blacks only)

TABLE A2

BACKGROUND DATA ON SUBJECTS

E	S#	D/O/B	Age	G	X	R	Father o.	Mother o.	SES index	Bp.	Yr.
1	1	3-7-62	11-3	5	M	B	Foreman, mfg.	Housewife	53 --	N.J.	0
1	2	4-23-62	11-1	5	M	B	Deceased	Secretary	-- 61	N.J.	0
1	3	8-24-62	10-9	5	M	B	Salesman, mfg.	Housewife	65 --	N.J.	0
2	4	4-27-62	11-1	5	M	B	Mtr. Veh. officer (state pub. admin.)	Housewife	54 --	N.J.	0
2	5	9-23-62	10-8	5	M	B	Programmer analyst (prof., tech., etc.)	Housewife	65 --	N.C.	.25
1	6	5-9-62	11-1	5	M	B	Mach. oper., metals	Housewife	16 --	N.J.	0
2	7	7-30-62	10-10	5	M	B	Truck driver	Housewife	15 --	N.J.	0
1	8	2-11-62	11-4	5	M	B	Truck driver	Presser, dry cln.	15 15	N.J.	0
2	9	4-5-62	11-2	5	M	B	Carpenter	Housewife	19 --	N.J.	0
2	10	4-24-62	11-1	5	M	B	Truck driver	Hosp. at.	15 13	N.J.	0
2	11	8-19-62	10-9	5	M	W	Owner, aparl. store	Housewife	65 --		
1	12	9-18-62	10-8	5	M	W	Assist. ret. sales mgr., home furn.	Nurse	68 46		
1	13	2-28-62	11-3	5	M	W	Self emp., art shop	Housewife	49 --		
1	14	8-17-62	10-9	5	M	W	Frmn., transpt. co.	Housewife	45 --		
2	15	3-09-62	11-3	5	M	W	Airplane mechanic	Housewife	48 --		
2	16	12-02-61	11-6	5	M	W	Truck driver	Operative assembler (telecom)	15 21		
2	17	5-23-62	11-0	5	M	W	Truck driver	Housewife	15 --		
1	18	2-02-62	11-4	5	M	W	Auto mechanic	Housewife	19 --		
1	19	7-16-62	10-10	5	M	W	Laborer, pub. co.	Housewife	23 --		
1	20	4-07-62	11-2	5	M	W	Auto mechanic	Housewife	19 --		

(continued)

TABLE A2 (continued)

E	S#	D/O/B	Age	G	X	R	Father o.	Mother o.	SES Index	Bp.	Yr.
1	21	11-16-62	10-6	5	F	B	Divorced	Bookkpr.	-- 51	N.J.	0
1	22	3-18-62	11-2	5	F	B	Mgr., food store	Saleswmn. ret. trd.	50 39	N.J.	0
1	23	4-06-62	11-2	5	F	B	Medical technician	Housewife	48 --	N.J.	0
2	24	5-27-62	11-0	5	F	B	Social worker	Housewife	64 --	La.	8
1	25	6-23-62	10-11	5	F	B	Mgr., apparel store	Nurse	69 46	N.J.	0
1	26	9-17-62	10-8	5	F	B	Truck driver	Housewife	15 --	N.J.	0
2	27	12-08-61	11-6	5	F	B	Trans., mach. oper.	Housewife	23 --	N.J.	0
2	28	3-07-62	11-3	5	F	B	Craneman	Operative, drugs	21 26	N.J.	0
2	29	6-15-62	10-11	5	F	B	Truck driver	Housewife	15 --	N.J.	0
2	30	3-24-62	11-2	5	F	B	Hoistman	Housewife	21 --	N.J.	0
2	31	2-21-62	11-3	5	F	W	Librarian	Housewife	60 --		
1	32	5-07-62	11-1	5	F	W	Sales rep., mfg.	Housewife	65 --		
2	33	9-03-62	10-9	5	F	W	Radio operator	Housewife	69 --		
2	34	5-10-62	11-1	5	F	W	Town health officer	Housewife	54 --		
2	35	3-03-62	11-3	5	F	W	Printer	Housewife	49 --		
2	36	8-24-62	10-9	5	F	W	Laborer, electrical machinery	Housewife	14 --		
1	37	5-04-62	11-1	5	F	W	Operative, chemical	Housewife	23 --		
1	38	3-31-62	11-2	5	F	W	Operative, motor vehicle	Housewife	21 --		
2	39	9-26-62	11-8	5	F	W	Truck driver	Housewife	15 --		
1	40	3-09-62	11-3	5	F	W	Laborer, transportation	Housewife	11 --		

(continued)

TABLE A2 (continued)

E	S#	D/O/B	Age	G	X	R	Father o.	Mother o.	SES index	Bp.	Yr.
2	41	1-26-66	7-4	1	M	B	Foreman, drug co.	Housewife	44 --	N.J.	0
2	42	12-06-65	7-6	1	M	B	Divorced	Clerk	-- 44	N.J.	0
2	43	6-03-66	7-0	1	M	B	Mailcarrier	Housewife	53 --	N.J.	0
1	44	7-12-66	6-10	1	M	B	State motor vehicle inspector	Housewife	54 --	N.J.	0
1	45	1-26-66	7-4	1	M	B	Foreman, telecomm.	Housewife	56 --	N.J.	0
2	46	5-25-66	6-0	1	M	B	Machinery operator	Housewife	22 --	Fla.	4
2	47	4-04-66	7-2	1	M	B	Shipping clerk	Housewife	22 --	N.J.	0
1	48	2-03-66	7-4	1	M	B	Truck driver	Welder	15 24	N.J.	0
2	49	6-26-66	6-11	1	M	B	Production worker	Produc. worker	20 20	N.J.	0
1	50	7-26-66	6-10	1	M	B	Mason	Housewife	27 --	N.J.	0
1	51	7-05-66	6-11	1	M	W	Salesman, industrial	Housewife	50 --		
2	52	4-08-66	7-2	1	M	W	Foreman, drug co.	Bookkpr.	53 51		
2	53	1-14-66	7-5	1	M	W	Salesman, mfg.	Housewife	47 --		
2	54	5-24-66	7-0	1	M	W	Artist	Housewife	67 --		
2	55	7-08-66	6-11	1	M	W	Salesman, indust.	Housewife	50 --		
1	56	3-16-66	7-2	1	M	W	Elec. machinery operator	Housewife	22 --		
1	57	3-14-66	7-3	1	M	W	Hoistman	Machine operator	22 22		
1	58	3-25-66	7-2	1	M	W	Carpenter	Housewife	19 --		
1	59	1-29-66	7-4	1	M	W	Truck driver	Housewife	15 --		
1	60	1-26-66	7-4	1	M	W	Craneman	School cros. gd.	21 17		

(continued)

TABLE A2 (continued)

E	S#	D/O/B	Age	G	X	R	Father o.	Mother o.	SES index		Bp.	Yr.
1	61	7-29-66	6-10	1	F	B	Medical technician	Housewife	44	--	N.J.	0
1	62	3-03-66	7-3	1	F	B	Foreman, metal ind.	Librarian	54	60	N.J.	0
1	63	6-10-66	7-0	1	F	B	Foreman, mfg.	School cros. gd.	53	17	N.J.	0
2	64	5-14-66	7-1	1	F	B	Tool & die maker	Machine operator	50	22	N.J.	0
1	65	9-05-66	6-9	1	F	B	Steel operator	Typist	16	61	N.J.	0
1	66	8-30-66	6-9	1	F	B	Truck driver	Housewife	15	--	N.J.	0
1	67	12-1-65	7-6	1	F	B	Mechanic	Housewife	27	--	N.J.	0
2	68	6-18-66	6-11	1	F	B	Truck driver	Housewife	15	--	N.J.	0
2	69	9-26-65	6-8	1	F	B	Bus driver	Housewife	24	--	N.J.	0
1	70	2-07-66	7-4	1	F	B	Mason	Practical nurse	27	22	N.J.	0
2	71	5-14-66	7-1	1	F	W	Electrician	Housewife	44	--		
2	72	1-21-66	7-4	1	F	W	Manager, food store	Cashier	50	44		
1	73	4-22-66	7-1	1	F	W	Salesman, mfg.	Housewife	65	--		
2	74	6-03-66	7-0	1	F	W	Salesman, indus.	Housewife	50	--		
2	75	5-04-66	7-1	1	F	W	Salesman, retail	Housewife	39	--		
2	76	4-16-66	7-1	1	F	W	Truck driver	Housewife	15	--		
2	77	8-05-66	6-10	1	F	W	Watchman	Housewife	18	--		
2	78	8-13-66	6-10	1	F	W	Unemployed	Bakery worker	--	22		
1	79	9-18-66	6-8	1	F	W	Operative, telecom.	Operative telecom.	21	21		
1	80	6-22-66	6-11	1	F	W	Mechanic	Housewife	27	--		

APPENDIX B

TAPE SCRIPT

Score code:

1. Copulative
2. Third Person Singular
3. Plural
4. Possessive

a. Standard English
b. Black English

Timing:

Task I. State number, pause one second.
Give first sentence, pause one second.
Give second sentence, pause five seconds.
Repeat from beginning.

Timing:

Tasks II, III, and IV.

State number, pause one second.
Give sentence, pause five seconds.
Repeat from beginning.

TASK I	Score code
1. Six crayon fell on the floor. Six crayons fell on the floor.	3b + 3a
2. He crazy. He crazy.	1b + 1b
3. He goes to our school. He goes to our school.	2a + 2a
4. They cost four dollars each. They cost four dollar each.	3a + 3b
5. He talk a lot in school. He talks a lot in school.	2b + 2a
6. She wore Mary dress. She wore Mary's dress.	4b + 4a
7. He's my father. He my father.	1a + 1b
8. He took seven girls home. He took seven girls home.	3a + 3a
9. You know Mary daddy? You know Mary daddy?	4b + 4b
10. Two boy go to school. Two boy go to school.	3b + 3b
11. She going to school. She's going to school.	1b + 1a
12. The girl's tired. The girl's tired.	1a + 1a
13. I took John's book. I took John's book.	4a + 4a
14. She know you. She know you.	2b + 2b
15. She made Bobby's coat. She made Bobby coat.	4a + 4b
16. He wants to be a pilot. He want to be a pilot.	2a + 2b

TASK IV	Score code
17. He talk a lot in school.	2b
18. The girl's tired.	1a
19. Six crayon fell on the floor.	3b
20. They cost four dollars each.	3a
21. She made Bobby's coat.	4a
22. He goes to our school.	2a
23. The window's open.	1a
24. She made Bobby coat.	4b
25. I found three penny yesterday.	3b
26. Six crayons fell on the floor.	3a
27. She's a big girl.	1a
28. They cost four dollar each.	3b
29. She wore Mary's dress.	4a
30. He go to our school.	2b
31. He talks a lot in school.	2a
32. I found three pennies yesterday.	3a
33. He want to be a pilot.	2b
34. I took John's book.	4a
35. She a big girl.	1b
36. The window open.	1b
37. I took John book.	4b
38. She wore Mary dress.	4b
39. He wants to be a pilot.	2a
40. The girl tired.	1b

TASK II	Score code
41. I took John's book.	4a
42. I lost five book last week.	3b
43. Every night he look at TV.	2b
44. He wants to be a pilot.	2a
45. She going to school.	1b
46. You know Mary's daddy?	4a
47. Six crayons fell on the floor.	3a
48. She's a big girl.	1a
49. He go to our school.	2b
50. Every night he looks at TV.	2a
51. I lost five books last week.	3a
52. He took seven girl home.	3b
53. He goes to our school.	2a
54. He's crazy.	1a
55. Six crayon fell on the floor.	3b
56. He want to be a pilot.	2b
57. You know Mary daddy?	4b
58. I like Louis bicycle.	4b
59. He took seven girls home.	3a
60. He crazy	1b
61. She a big girl.	1b
62. I took John book.	4b
63. I like Louis's bicycle.	4a
64. She's going to school.	1a

TASK III	Score code
65. Every night he look at TV.	2b
66. He's my father.	1a
67. She wore Mary dress.	4b
68. I took John book.	4b
69. Every night he looks at TV.	2a
70. He my father.	1b
71. The window open.	1b
72. He took seven girls home.	3a
73. Two boys go to school.	3a
74. I found three penny yesterday.	3b
75. She walk to school by herself.	2b
76. He took seven girl home.	3b
77. He talk a lot in school.	2b
78. She wore Mary's dress.	4a
79. He hit Jessie car.	4b
80. I took John's book.	4a
81. The window's open.	1a
82. The girl's tired.	1a
83. He talks a lot in school.	2a
84. Two boy go to school.	3b
85. The girl tired.	1b
86. She walks to school by herself.	2a
87. He hit Jessie's car.	4a
88. I found three pennies yesterday.	3a

APPENDIX C

ORAL DIRECTIONS TO SUBJECTS

GRADE ONE

PRELIMINARY CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF SAME AND DIFFERENT

(Show dominoes) Do you know what these are called?
(If unknown, supply answer)

Each domino has two sides . . . this (point to one side) and this (point to other side).

On each side there are some dots.

Sometimes there is the same number of dots (show :/:).

There are two dots on this side and two dots on this side.

They are the same.

Sometimes there is a different number of dots (show :/.).

There are two dots on this side but only one dot on this side.

They are different.

Now I am going to show you some more dominoes.

For each domino, tell me whether the dots are the same or different.

(Show remainder of dominoes)

./:.

./.

:/::

::/::

.:/.:

./::

TASK I

1-16
1 = same, 2 = different

Today I want to find out some of the things you know about the way people talk.

I am going to play a tape for you on this machine. You will hear some sentences on the tape. I am going to ask you to answer some questions about the sentences.

People can talk in different ways.

For example, I can say the same thing two different ways.

I can say, "I will go to the store." or

I can say, "I'll go to the store."

These two sentences are different. I said the same thing in two different ways.

Did you hear how they were different? (elicit response)*

You will hear some pairs of sentences on the tape. For each pair, I want you to tell me whether the sentences are the same or different.

Here is an example:

I can say, "I have gone to the circus." or
I can say, "I've gone to the circus."

Are these two sentences the same or different?*

Try this one: "They are listening." "They are listening."
Are they the same or different?

And this one:

"They're listening." "They are listening."
Same or different?

Listen carefully to each pair of sentences. For each pair, tell me whether the sentences are the same or different.

If at any time you do not hear the sentences, say stop. I will stop the tape and replay the example for you.

Ready . . . (play tape for Task I, #1-16)

*If child answers that they are the same, ask "How are they the same?" His answer will probably refer to content. Then say, yes, they mean the same thing, but they are said in different ways. Then repeat the example. If necessary, shorten example to focus on difference, i.e., "I have . . . " "I've . . . "

TASK III

17-40
1 = black, 2 = white

People can pretend that they are someone else. They can try to talk the way someone else talks.

Here are two pictures. This man is black (point to #1). This man is white (point to #2).

The man on the tape is now going to try to talk like each of these two men.

Sometimes he is going to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #1).

Sometimes he is going to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #2).

For example, suppose he said:

"John, he always be late for school."
Which man is he trying to talk like?

or, "John is always late for school."
Which man is he trying to talk like?

Try this one: "I don't have any."

Now try this one: "I don' got none."

Listen to each sentence on the tape. For each sentence, tell me which man he is trying to talk like.

Ready . . . (play tape for Task III, #17-40)

TASK IV

41-64
1 = upper, 2 = lower

Here are two more pictures.

(Point to #1) This is a black man. He is dressed up to look like he earns a lot of money. He has a good job. He lives in a big house.

(Point to #2) This is a black man. He is dressed up to look like he does not earn a lot of money. He does not have a good job. He lives in a little house.

The man on the tape is now going to try to talk like these two men.

Sometimes he will try to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #1).

Sometimes he will try to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #2).

For example, suppose he said:

"It don't all be her fault."

Which man is he trying to talk like?

or: "It isn't all her fault."

Which man is he trying to talk like?

or: "I didn't do it."

or: "I ain't did it."

Listen to each sentence on the tape. For each sentence, tell me which man he is trying to talk like.

Ready . . . (play tape for Task IV, #41-64)

TASK II

65-88
1 = right, 2 = wrong

Teachers have ideas about speech.

Often they think there is a right way to talk and a wrong way to talk.

Sometimes they will praise the way a person talks. They'll say--That's the right way to say it.

Sometimes they will correct the way a person talks. They'll say--That's the wrong way to say it.

The man on the tape is going to say some more sentences. After you hear each sentence, decide whether a teacher would say that is the right way to say it or the wrong way to say it.

For example, suppose he said, "He ain't going." Would a teacher say that is the right way or the wrong way to say it?

Suppose he said, "He's not going." Would a teacher say that is the right way or the wrong way to say it?

or: "I don't got none."

or: "I don't have any."

Listen to each sentence on the tape. For each sentence tell me right if a teacher would say that is the right way to say it. Tell me wrong if a teacher would say that is the wrong way to talk.

Ready . . . (play tape for Task II, #65-88)

GRADE FIVE

PRELIMINARY DIRECTIONS

Today I want to find out some of the things you know about the ways people talk.

I am going to play a tape for you on this machine. You will hear some sentences on the tape. I am going to ask you some questions about the sentences.

You will be writing your answers on a special sheet using special pencils. This is so the answers can be machine scored. (Pass out answer sheets and pencils)

Right now, let's fill out the top line of the answer sheet (fill out information on name, grade, etc.)

Look at the numbers on the answer sheet. See how they go across the page. Number 1, choices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Number 2, choices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, #3 (etc. through 5) (Point to numbers on answer sheet to demonstrate.)

Actually you will only need to fill in choices #1 or #2. You will not need choices 3, 4, or 5 for any answer.

You will only use this answer sheet when answering questions from the tape. For practice we have another answer sheet. (Pass out practice sheet. Go over instructions on top of page.)

OK, let's begin.

TASK I 1-16
1 = same, 2 = different

People can talk in different ways.

For example, I can say the same thing two different ways.

I can say, "I will go to the store." or
I can say, "I'll go to the store."
These two sentences are different. I said the same thing in two different ways.

Did you hear how they were different? (elicit response)*

You will hear some pairs of sentences on the tape. For each pair, I want you to mark on your answer sheet whether the sentences are the same or different. (display cue card)

If the sentences are the same, mark choice one on your answer sheet. If the sentences are different, mark choice two on your answer sheet.

Here are some sample examples. Mark them on your practice answer sheet.

Practice number one. "I have gone to the circus."
"I've gone to the circus."
Are these two sentences the same or different? Yes, different, so you should have marked #two on your practice answer sheet.*

Try this one. Practice number two. "They are listening."
"They are listening."

Are they the same or different? The same, so you should have marked #1 on the practice answer sheet.

Practice number three. "They're listening."
"They are listening."

Same or different? Different, so you should have marked #2 on your practice answer sheet.

Now take your real answer sheet. Listen carefully to each pair of sentences. Before each pair there is a number. That is the number of the example. After you hear each pair of sentences, mark the correct choice for that example.

If the sentences are the same, mark choice 1.
If the sentences are different, mark choice 2.

If at any time you did not hear the sentences, raise your hand. I will stop the tape and replay the example for you.

Ready . . . (play tape for Task I, #1-16)

*If child answers that they are the same, ask "How are they the same?" His answer will probably refer to content. Then say, yes, they mean the same thing, but they are said in different ways. Then repeat the example. If necessary, shorten example to focus on difference, i.e., "I have . . . " "I've . . . "

TASK III

17-40
1 = black, 2 = white

People can pretend that they are someone else. They can try to talk the way someone else talks.

Here are two pictures. This man is black (point to #1). This man is white (point to #2).

The man on the tape is now going to try to talk like each of these two men.

Sometimes he is going to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #1).

Sometimes he is going to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #2).

If he is talking the way this man might talk (point to #1), mark choice 1 on your answer sheet.

If he is talking the way this man might talk (point to #2), mark choice 2 on your answer sheet.

Let's try a few practice examples on your practice answer sheet.

Practice #1. "John he always be late for school." Mark down the one he is trying to talk like.

Practice #2. "John is always late for school." Mark down the one he is trying to talk like.

Practice #3. "I don't have any."

Practice #4. "I don't got none."

All right, now let's take your regular answer sheet. We will start with #17. Listen to each sentence on the tape. If he is talking like this man, mark #1 (point to #1). If he is talking like this man, mark #2 (point to #2).

Ready . . . (play tape for Task III, #17-40)

TASK IV

41-64
1 = upper, 2 = lower

Here are two more pictures.

(Point to #1) This is a black man. He is dressed up to look like he earns a lot of money. He has a good job. He lives in a big house.

(Point to #2) This is a black man. He is dressed up to look like he does not earn very much money. He does not have a good job. He lives in a little house.

The man on the tape is now going to try to talk like these two men.

Sometimes he will try to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #1).

Sometimes he will try to say a sentence talking the way this man might talk (point to #2).

If he is talking the way this man might talk (point to #1), mark choice 1 on your answer sheet.

If he is talking the way this man might talk (point to #2), mark choice 2 on your answer sheet.

Let's try a few practice examples on your practice answer sheet.

1. "It don't all be her fault."
2. "It isn't all her fault."
3. "I didn't do it."
4. "I ain't did it."

All right, now let's take your regular answer sheet. We will start with #41. Listen to each sentence on the tape.

If he is talking like this man (point to #1), mark choice 1. If he is talking like this man (point to #2), mark choice 2.

Ready . . . (play tape for Task IV, #41-64)

TASK II 65-88
1 = right, 2 = wrong

Teachers have ideas about speech. Often they think there is a right way to talk and a wrong way to talk.

Sometimes they will praise the way a person talks. They'll say, "That's the right way to say it."

Sometimes they will correct the way a person talks. They'll say, "That's the wrong way to say it."

The man on the tape is going to say some more sentences. After you hear each sentence, decide whether a teacher would say that is the right way to say it or the wrong way to say it (display cue card).

If a teacher would say it is the right way, mark #1 on your answer sheet.

If a teacher would say it is the wrong way, mark #2 on your answer sheet.

Let's try a few practice examples on your practice answer sheet.

1. "He ain't going."
2. "He's not going."
3. "I don't got none."
4. "I don't have any."

All right, now let's take your regular answer sheet. We will start with #65. Listen to each sentence on the tape.

If a teacher would say it is the right way to say it, mark choice #1 on your answer sheet.

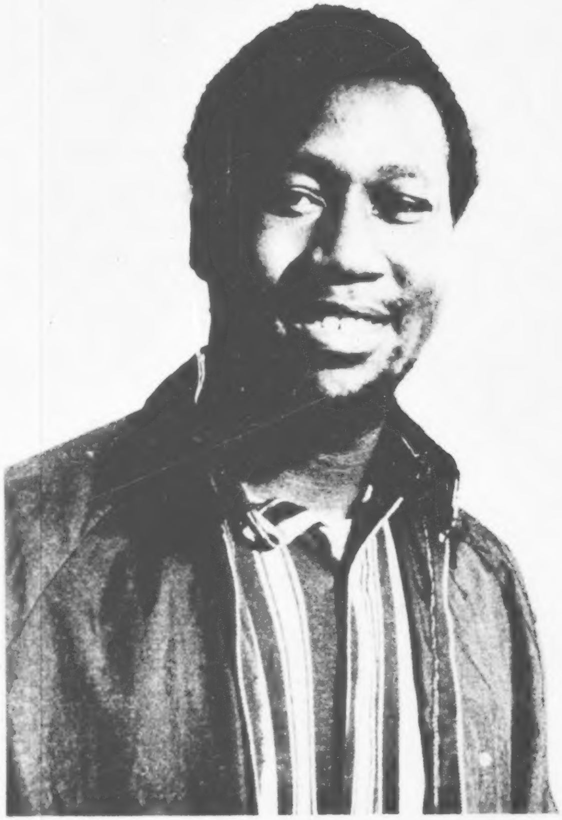
If a teacher would say it is the wrong way to say it, mark choice #2 on your answer sheet.

Ready . . . (play tape for Task II, #65-88)

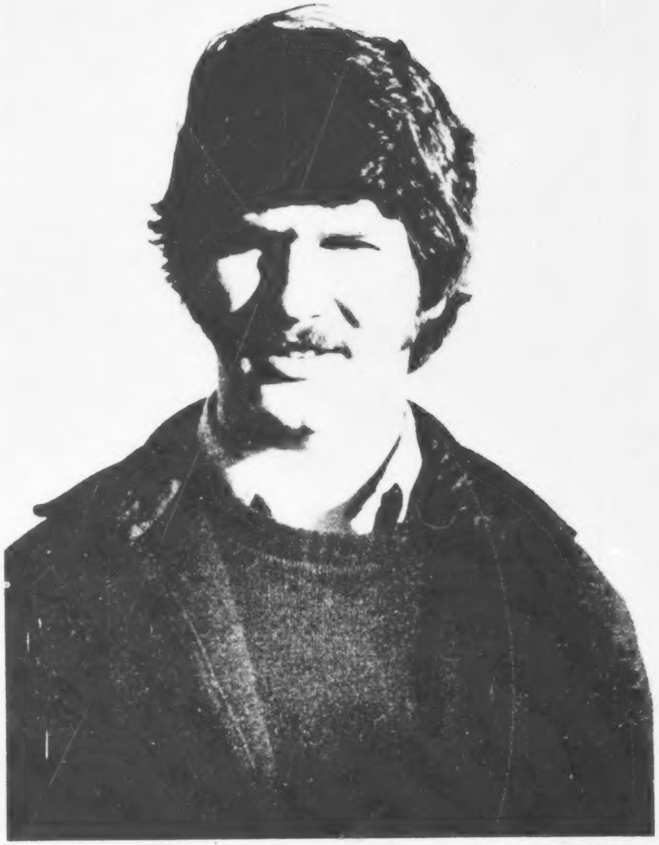
AFTER TAPE COLLECT ANSWER SHEETS AND PENCILS

APPENDIX D

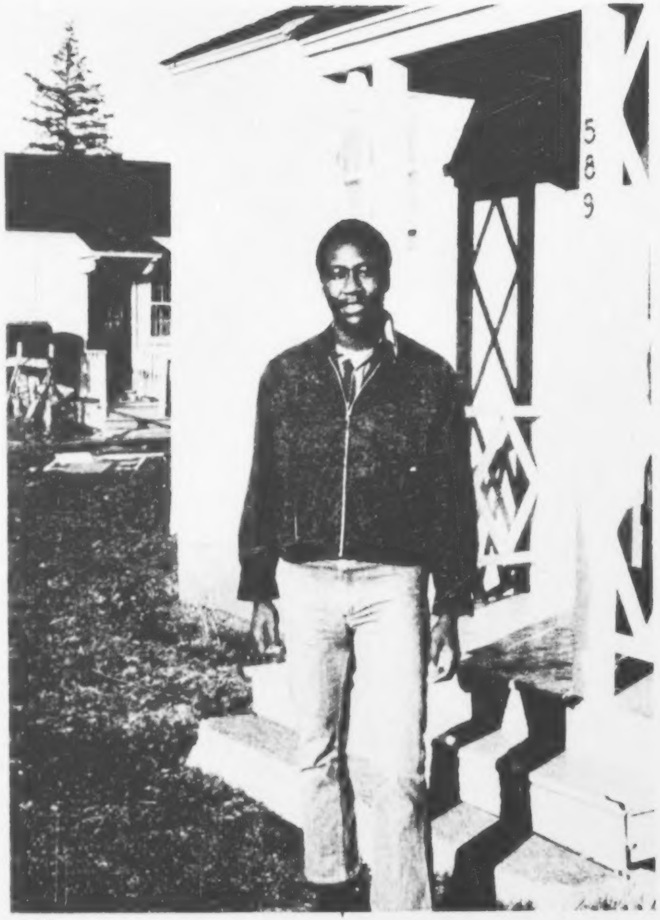
THE FOUR PICTURES



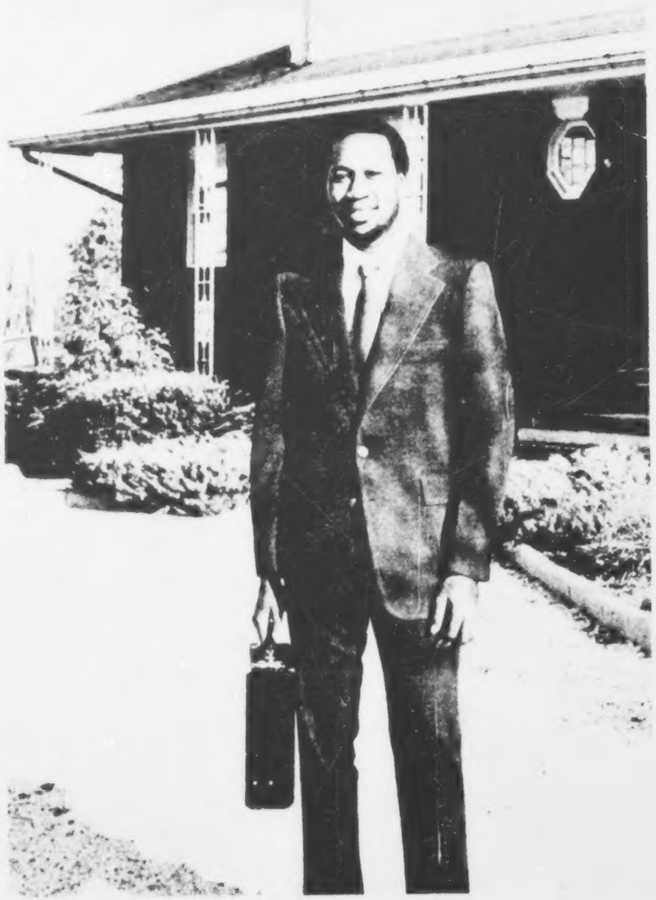
TASK III -- 1



TASK III -- 2



TASK IV -- 1



TASK IV -- 2

APPENDIX E

RAW DATA ON THE FOUR TASKS

Sub. no.	Task I 1-16	Total corr.	Sub. no.	Task I 1-17	Total corr.
01	1112222111211122	015	41	1221222111111111	009
02	1112222111211122	015	42	1111122111211122	013
03	1111222111221122	013	43	2211211111211111	010
04	1112222111211122	015	44	1111112111211112	011
05	1112222112211122	014	45	2112222111211122	016
06	1121212112121112	008	46	2211211221112111	006
07	1112222111211122	015	47	1111212111221122	012
08	1212212111221122	012	48	2111212111111111	011
09	1112222111111122	014	49	1111212111211122	013
10	2112222111221122	015	50	1111111111111111	008
11	2112222111211122	016	51	1111222111221122	013
12	1112222121211122	014	52	1111212111211112	012
13	1112222111211122	015	53	1111112111111112	010
14	1112222111211122	015	54	1112212111211112	013
15	1112222111111122	014	55	2212222111211122	015
16	2112222111212122	015	56	2111212111211122	014
17	1112212111211122	014	57	2112222122222222	011
18	1112222112211122	014	58	2111112111111111	010
19	2111222111221122	014	59	2111212111211122	014
20	2112222112211222	014	60	2111212111211122	014
21	1111222212111122	011	61	1112212111211122	014
22	1112222111221122	014	62	1111112111111122	011
23	1111112111111122	011	63	2221112111211121	010
24	1111112111211122	012	64	1111222211111122	012
25	1112222111211122	015	65	1111112111111122	011
26	1111222211211112	012	66	2111222111211112	014
27	1111112111211122	012	67	2221212111211122	012
28	1112222111211122	015	68	1112222111221111	012
29	1111222111221122	013	69	2111222111211122	015
30	1112222111111122	014	70	1121222212221211	007
31	2112222111211122	016	71	1111212111221122	012
32	1112222111211122	015	72	2221222222222222	007
33	2111222111211122	015	73	1112222111221122	014
34	1111222111211122	014	74	1112212111221122	013
35	2112222111211122	016	75	2111212111111122	013
36	1112222111211122	015	76	1111222111211122	014
37	2112222111211121	015	77	2222222112211122	013
38	1111212111211122	013	78	1112212111221112	012
39	1112222112211122	014	79	1111222111211112	013
40	1111222111211122	014	80	2211212121111222	010

Sub. no.	Task IV 17-40	Sub. no.	Task IV 17-40
01	121222111221212212111121	41	121212121212121221212121
02	121222211221212212111121	42	121122121121211212212212
03	121122211211222221111121	43	212112212121221211212121
04	121221111211112112111121	44	112112221121111211211211
05	111222111221212211111121	45	111122122112122122111112
06	112212211211212221111221	46	121212121212121121212121
07	121212211221212212111121	47	121212121212221212212212
08	111221111222112112111211	48	212121212212121112112111
09	111121111211122222121121	49	212121221211212121121222
10	112122112212212122112212	50	121212212121211211111111
11	121222211211212212111121	51	121222111221212112111121
12	111222211211112212111121	52	112121221121212121221212
13	112212211122211122111121	53	122121221121212121221221
14	121222211221112212111121	54	112212121211212122122122
15	111112111221122222112121	55	221222211221122122122121
16	121222211221212212111121	56	111111111111111111111111
17	121222111221212212121121	57	212122122122121121211211
18	121222111221112112111121	58	222212212112222222122121
19	121222111211212112111121	59	121122111121112111111121
20	212111122122221121222212	60	212121221212121212121212
21	111221111211112212111121	61	111111121111211111211112
22	221222211221222222111121	62	212121222112122121212112
23	121221211122222221121221	63	122222222222222222222222
24	121122111212112212111211	64	122222212221212221122121
25	121121211211212112121121	65	121212122121212121212121
26	111122111121212112111121	66	121122122121122112121212
27	121222221222212212112221	67	121212121212121212121212
28	121222211221212212121221	68	121121112111211112121221
29	121222211221212212111121	69	222112212111211211111112
30	211212111222211211121222	70	121121212112122121121121
31	121212211211212212111121	71	112121212211221122112111
32	121222211221212212111121	72	121122111221111121121121
33	121212111221212212121121	73	111112211221112122121221
34	221222211221212212111121	74	211221211212112121111221
35	111222111221212212111121	75	111222111221212112111121
36	112121211121111212211121	76	121212111212111212111121
37	121222121121212212111121	77	222212111222112112111111
38	121211211221212112111121	78	121212211221211221211122
39	121222211121111212111121	79	111111111121111111111111
40	121222211221212212111121	80	212112121212211221212122

Sub. no.	Task II 41-64	Sub. no.	Task II 41-64
01	122122112112112222122211	41	211212212121221212212222
02	122121112112112222122211	42	112212212211122212121121
03	121121111112122221122211	43	211221221222212212122122
04	122122112112112222122211	44	121121211121122111121211
05	122122112112112122122212	45	221212121212222212111222
06	122121112112122221222122	46	121212121212121212121212
07	122121112112111121122211	47	121212121212122121212212
08	211221211121122112211121	48	212111222221221112212122
09	122122112122122122122211	49	212121212212222112221122
10	211121212111221111121211	50	112111111111111111111111
11	122122112212112222122211	51	221221112222222222222212
12	122121112112112222122211	52	112212122112212222112212
13	122121112112112212122211	53	212112121212221212122121
14	122122112112112212122211	54	211121212121212121121212
15	122111112112112122121211	55	122112112112112221122211
16	122121112112112222122211	56	112211211112122122221221
17	212121112112112221122211	57	212121212212121212121212
18	121122112112112222122211	58	222222222222222222222222
19	122122122122122222122211	59	222122212112112222122211
20	122121112112112222122211	60	212121212122121212121212
21	122222112112112222111211	61	122121112112111222122211
22	122122112112112122122211	62	222211112122121112211221
23	212211211222122121111212	63	221212221221222121211122
24	121121122112112222122211	64	221121112112122122122211
25	122122112212112222122211	65	122122121212122121212122
26	112122112112211221122111	66	221211121212211122112211
27	122112111112112121122111	67	212121212211121212121211
28	122122112112112222122211	68	111111211112121211121111
29	122122112112112222122211	69	222122212222112122212221
30	122222112112121122212111	70	121212122212111221211221
31	111222221122112111212121	71	212212121121221112221211
32	122122112112112222122211	72	221112221121122121122111
33	122121112112122222122211	73	222122122112112112122211
34	122122112112112222121211	74	222212212112122112121212
35	122121112112112222122211	75	122121112112112222122211
36	122121112112112222122211	76	122121112112121121121211
37	122121112112122212122211	77	122122222122212221222212
38	122121112112112221122211	78	122122112122112221121211
39	222122112112122222122211	79	111121111112212222122211
40	122122122112112222122212	80	121221112112122211121222

Sub. no.	Task III 65-88	Sub. no.	Task III 65-88
01	212212211212212111122112	41	211212221112212111122121
02	212212211212212111122111	42	112212211212212111122111
03	211211111212212112122111	43	121211221222212212122122
04	212212212212212111122111	44	112211211112121111122111
05	212212211222212112122111	45	211212211222212111122111
06	212212212212212211121122	46	112121121222222211211222
07	212212211212212111122111	47	211121111122111111112121
08	121221111111111212211222	48	111212111212111111122111
09	112212112212112112122111	49	111112211211122111122111
10	211111222222212121112211	50	212111211211121121122111
11	212222211212212111122111	51	212212211222212111122111
12	211212111222212111122121	52	121212111212212111222111
13	212212211212212111122111	53	121212121212112121212122
14	212212211222212111122111	54	212211222112212121122111
15	212212211212112111122111	55	212212211222212111122111
16	212212211212212111122111	56	212212211211111111121111
17	212212221212212111222111	57	112211221112112211222112
18	212212211222212112122122	58	212111111111121111111111
19	212212212222222222112111	59	212212211222212111122111
20	212212211222222111122111	60	212212211222212111122111
21	212212211212212111122111	61	212212211212212111122111
22	212212111212212112122111	62	111112111111111111111111
23	122212211121111111122111	63	112212111212122112122111
24	212212212212111111122111	64	212212211222212111222111
25	212212112212212112122121	65	212212211212212111122111
26	122121212212212111122111	66	212212211222211111122111
27	121112111212111111122111	67	212212211212112111122111
28	212212211222212111122121	68	111212212212111111122121
29	212212211212212111122111	69	222222221122222222222222
30	112222111212112112122211	70	112121211212121211211222
31	121212212211122222211222	71	212212211212211111122111
32	212212212222212111122111	72	212212111222222111222111
33	212212211212212111122111	73	212222111212212112122111
34	212212211212212111122111	74	112212211222212111122111
35	212212211222212111122111	75	212212211222212111122111
36	212212211212212111122111	76	212212211212212111222121
37	212212211222211111122111	77	212212211222222111122111
38	212212211212212112122111	78	212212111222212111122111
39	212212211222212111122111	79	212212211222222211222121
40	212212211222212112122112	80	212212111212112121212111

COURSE WORK FOR MASTER'S DEGREE IN READING

		Instructor
Fall, 1964		
15:240:511	Elementary School Child and His Curriculum	Dr. Delaney
15:320:521	Curriculum and Instruction I	Dr. Harmin
Spring, 1965		
15:320:522	Curriculum and Instruction II	Dr. Harmin
15:320:561	Foundations of Reading Instruction	Dr. Fry Dr. Mountain
Fall, 1965		
15:320:564	Remedial Reading	Dr. Fry
15:320:565	Lab in Remedial Reading	Dr. Kling
Fall, 1966		
15:290:513	Developmental Psychology--Early and Middle Years	Dr. Raph
12:830:543	Seminar in Learning	Dr. Spear
Spring, 1967		
15:320:566	Seminar in Reading Research and Supervision	Dr. Kling
17:610:581	Reading Materials for Children	Dr. Gaver
Fall, 1967		
15:290:518	Psychology of Personality	Dr. Blank
Fall, 1968		
15:250:500	Thesis Research	Dr. Kling
By Examination on January 19, 1966		
15:290:501	Educational and Psychological Measurements	

COURSE WORK FOR DOCTORATE IN READING

30 Credits accepted from Master's Degree Program

		Instructor
Fall, 1969		
15:320:515	Teaching Reading Improvement for Secondary, College and Adults	Dr. Shew
Spring, 1970		
15:320:610	Advanced Lab in Remedial Reading	Dr. Kling
15:320:620	Developing Language Arts Curriculum Materials	Dr. Mountain
Fall, 1970		
15:290:590	Seminar in Educational Psy. (Developmental Processes)	Dr. Raph
17:610:570	Information Science and Technology	Dr. Artandi
Spring, 1971		
15:290:517	Development of Cognition and Language in Children	Dr. Raph
15:290:590	Seminar in Educational Psy. (Theories and Models in Reading)	Dr. Kling
Fall, 1971		
15:230:521	Supervision of Instruction	Dr. Hanigan
15:250:530	Linguistic Basis of Language Teaching	Dr. Barone
15:290:622	Individual Intelligence Testing	Dr. Bennett
16:960:531	Statistical Methods in Education I	Dr. Penfield
Spring, 1972		
15:299:609	Experimental Reading Lab	Dr. Kling
15:310:502	History of American Education	Dr. Muschinskie

Editor, Arithmetic Behavioral Objectives Series, Dreier Educational Systems, 1972.

Contributed to: Time/Life Speed Reading Book, Time-Life Video, Time-Life Incorporated, New York, 1972.

"Developing Language Skills with Young Children," in Language and Development for the Classroom and Remedial Reading, Rutgers University, 1972.

Editor, Here We Go Again--It's Monday, Rutgers University, 1973.

VITA

MARGARET O. KNAPP (MRS.)

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80 Royal Drive, Apt. 313 Piscataway, N. J. 08854 (201) 752-8250	Communication Science Dept. Kean College of New Jersey Union, N. J. 07083 (201) 527-2070 or (201) 527-2072

Educational Background:

Ed.D. candidate, Rutgers University, 1969-Present
Dissertation on "Awareness of Black Dialect By First- and Fifth-Graders as Related to Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Sex"

Ed.M., Rutgers University, 1969
Thesis on "Sentence Imitation Patterns of the Culturally Deprived Pre-School Child"

B.S. Degree with highest distinction, Penn State University, 1960.

Teaching Experience:

1972-Present
Assistant Professor, Department of Communication Sciences, Kean College of New Jersey; teaching courses on teaching of reading in the elementary school and reading in early childhood education.

1972
Graduate Research Assistant, Center for Infancy and Early Childhood, Rutgers Graduate School of Education.

1971
Graduate Teaching Assistant, Foundations of Reading Instruction, Reading Center, Rutgers Graduate School of Education.

1962-1964
Classroom teacher, Leonia, New Jersey, Fourth Grade (including updating curriculum materials and supervising student-teacher).

1960-1962
Classroom teacher, East Orange, New Jersey, Sixth Grade.

Writing:

1969 to Present

Editor and staff writer for Dreier Education Systems, Inc. developing elementary school pupil and teacher materials for publication. Consulting with outside companies on educational projects.

Administration:

1968 to Present

Established non-profit day care center to meet needs of low-income families. This entailed giving talks before civic organizations, enlisting community leaders' backing (board members include county freeholder, lawyer, bank president, psychiatrist, minister, rabbi) and supervising location of facilities, fund raising, program planning, hiring of personnel.

Somerset County Day Care Center currently serves 90 children in two locations. Administrative effort continued as President, Chairman of Board, and after moving, as Honorary Trustee.

I still continue promotional talks, organized around original movies personally filmed of Center's activities.

Honorary and Professional Organizations:

Kappa Delta Pi, National Honor Society in Education
Phi Beta Kappa
American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery-Educators
Publications Chairman for New Jersey Chapter
International Reading Association
Day Care and Child Development Council of America

Publications and Research:

"Sentence Imitation Patterns of the Culturally Deprived Pre-School Child," Ed.M. thesis, Rutgers University, 1969.

Editor, Drug Education for Elementary Teachers, Dreier Educational Systems, Inc., 1970.

Contributed to: 99 Phonics Charts published by Dreier Educational Systems, and Phonics Criteria Test also published by Dreier Educational Systems, 1971.

		Instructor
Spring, 1972		
15:310:520	Sociological Foundations of Education	Dr. Scrupski
16:960:532	Statistical Methods in Education II	Dr. Penfield
Fall, 1972		
15:290:701	Dissertation Study	Dr. Kling
Spring, 1973		
15:290:701	Dissertation Study	Dr. Kling
Fall, 1973		
15:290:701	Dissertation Study	Dr. Kling

ABSTRACT

Although there is some indication that children younger than adolescence are knowledgeable of the significance of dialect differences, there are no studies which have specifically examined the age level at which children become aware of standard forms of speech as opposed to nonstandard forms. There is a need to determine more precisely the relationship between age, ethnic group, socioeconomic status, and sex and the development of attitudes toward Standard English and Black English so that educational alternatives to the problem of dealing with speakers of nonstandard English can be more accurately assessed.

Problem, Procedure, and Sample

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the relationship between age, ethnic group, socioeconomic status, and sex, and the development of an awareness of the social and racial significance of language dialects. In this study, age and ethnic group were operationalized as grade level and race, respectively. A survey was made of children's ability to discriminate between certain Standard English and Black English features, and of their attitudes toward such features.

Specifically, 80 children from first and fifth grades were given four tasks. The first was a

discrimination task of their ability to hear minimal differences in paired sentences, one having Standard English features, the other Black English features. The second task asked the subjects to identify whether a sentence in Black English or Standard English had been said "the right way" or "the wrong way" from a teacher's point of view. The third task asked the subjects to identify the speaker of Standard English or Black English according to race. The fourth task asked the subjects to identify the speaker according to social class. An analysis of variance was performed for each task. The major hypotheses dealt with the independent variables of age, sex, ethnic group, and socioeconomic status.

Results

The resulting data revealed that awareness of the social and racial significance of dialect does increase from first to fifth grade. On the other hand, awareness of standard forms as being what a teacher would say is "the right way" and Black English forms as being what a teacher would say is "the wrong way" was already well developed by first grade.

Concerning the variable of ethnic group, the differences between black students and white students in the identification of Standard English forms was not significant, whereas the difference between the two races in the identification of Black English forms was significant with black students achieving lower scores than white students.

No social class differences or sex differences were found for any of the four tasks.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The findings suggest that no innate differences exist, but that there might have been psychological and sociological factors, due to ethnicity, of which race is but one manifestation. The Labov (1964) hypothesis that early adolescence is the stage during which the child becomes aware of the social significance of dialect characteristics is applicable to the current group of subjects, but there may be a resistance among black children to identify with their own stigmatized dialect. It is also suggested that any educational efforts to change dialect in the early years will have to rely on motivational factors that deal primarily with the desire to please the teacher. Use of economic and social success as motivators may have little impact until closer to adolescence.